

THE SULTANATE OF JAUNPŪR.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
of  
The University of London

by

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June, 1965.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge adequately the assistance and guidance I have received from my supervisors, Dr. Riazul Islam, Professor of Indo-Pakistan Muslim History in the University of Karachi, visiting Senior Research Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and Professor A.L. Basham, Professor of South Asian History in the University of London. They have always concerned themselves with my personal worries, and their kindness and benevolence have encouraged me to complete this research. In fact, this thesis is the outcome of their patient and sympathetic supervision.

I offer my sincerest thanks to Dr. J.G. de Casparis, Reader in South Asian History in the University of London, and Major J.B. Harrison, Reader in South Asian History in the University of London, whose lectures and scholarship enriched my knowledge of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent's history in the early stages of my research, and Dr. P. Hardy, Reader in Indo-Pakistan Muslim History in the University of London, under whom this work was originally started and substantial progress made.

K.

I am greatly indebted to Professor A. Nizāmī, Professor in the Muslim University of Alīgarh, for his valuable suggestions and occasional guidance in clarifying many practical problems of Indo-Pakistan Muslim History.

I cannot fail to record my gratitude to the late Aghā Muhammad 'Alī Khān, Lecturer of Archaeology in the University of the Punjāb, Lahore, and Assistant Curator of the Lahore Museum, Professor Hamīd Ahmad Khān, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjāb, Lahore, and also my father, Hakīm Muhammad 'Abdullah, who inspired me to start this work, and always gave me moral support.

I am also obliged to the library staffs of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Goldsmith Library, University of London, the India Office Library and the British Museum for their assistance.

My thanks are also due to Mrs. Baker for her assistance with the typing, and to Miss Sophia Kritzinger from Paarl, South Africa, my wife, and Mr. Saif Ullah Javed, for their helpful scrutiny, corrections and checking of the typed copies, and for saving me much time and labour.



I am also obliged to Professor C.H. Philips, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, for a grant from the Discretionary Fund of the School as well as to Mr. J. Carnochan of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, who recommended me to him, and to the Committee of Management of the Convocation Trust, the University of London, for a grant to cover my examination fee and the expenses in connection with the typing of the thesis. The Committees of the Trust of the National Union of Students, the Charles Henry Foyle Trust, the Sir Ernest Cassel Educational Trust, and the World University Service, also gave me small grants, for which I am greatly indebted.

## ABSTRACT.

### CHAPTER I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SHARQĪ SULTANATE.

In this chapter the factors which contributed to the disintegration of the Sultanate of Dehli, dislocated the provinces and finally helped the provincial governors to establish their independence have been surveyed.

### CHAPTER II. THE RISE OF THE SULTANATE.

Section (A) deals with the career of Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, who founded the Sultānate of Jaunpūr. After the death of Fīrūz, he became wazīr of the Sultānate successively under Sikandar, Nusrat, Muhammad and Mahmūd. He was appointed governor of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr in 1394, where he declared his independence and ruled up to 1399. Section (B) deals with the short reign of Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, the adopted son of Sultān ush-Sharq.

### CHAPTER III. THE SULTANATE IN ITS FULL GLORY.

It covers the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī who gloriously ruled for forty years, i.e. 1401-40.

### CHAPTER IV. THE SULTANATE IN ITS FULL GLORY (Concluded).

Section (A) deals with the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī (1440-57). Section (B) deals with the short tyrannical reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh Sharqī (1457-58).

### CHAPTER V. THE DECLINE OF THE SULTANATE.

It covers the reign of Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī who ruled in Jaunpūr from 1458 to 1483 and in Bihār from 1483 to 1495 and died in 1505 at Colgong where he had taken refuge with Husain Shāh Bengalī.

### CHAPTER VI. SHARQĪ ARCHITECTURE.

It consists of six sections. There are: (1) The Origin of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr; (2) The Masjids; (3) the Forts; (4) The Palaces of Sharqī Kings and Queens; (5) The Tombs and Shrines; (6) Irrigation and Public Works.

## CHAPTER VII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES UNDER THE SHARQĪS.

It consists of two parts, each being subdivided into six sections. Section I deals with the Arabic and Persian Scholars of Zafarābād; Section II, with those of Jaunpūr; Section III, with those who belonged to other parts of the Sharqī Sultānate, and Section IV deals with the Hindī Poets and Scholars. Section V deals with Music, and Section VI with the art of Painting.

## CHAPTER VIII. MYSTICS AND MYSTICAL MOVEMENTS UNDER THE SHARQĪS.

It consists of nine sections. Section I describes the activities of the Suharwardiya mystics; Section II of the Chishtiya mystics; Section III of the Ashrafiya mystics and Section IV of those mystics belonging to unknown Orders in different parts of the Sharqī Sultānate. Section V deals with the mystics of the Sābirya Order; Section VI with the Qalandariya Order; Section VII with the Madāriya Order; Section VIII with the Shattāri Order, and Section IX with the Mahdavi Movement of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī.

There are three appendices: (A) The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns; (B) The Later Sharqīs; (C) The Genealogical Table of the Sharqīs.

Method of Transliteration Adopted.

i.

For Arabic and Persian Letters:-

ا	a	ر	R	ف	f
ب	b	ز	Z	ق	q
پ	p	ژ	Z	ک	k
ت	t	س	S	گ	g
ث	S	ش	Sh	ل	l
ج	J	ص	S	م	m
چ	Ch	ض	Z	ن	n
ح	h	ب	t	و	w
خ	kh	پ	Z	و	h
د	d	ع	‘	ع	,
ذ	Z	غ	gh	ی	y

ii.

For Hindi and Urdu words:-

भ	bh	च	chh
फ	ph	छ	dh
ट	t	ज	dh
थ	th	झ	r
ड	jh	ण	gh

iii. For vowel signs:-

Short vowels = a, i, u

Long vowels = ā, ī, ō, Ū

iv. Hindi words used by Persian chroniclers are translated in their Persian form.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.(A) BOOKS.

1. 'A.Bāqī, Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī, by Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī.
2. 'Abdullah, Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, by 'Abdullah.
3. A. Fuhrer, The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpūr, Vol.I.
4. 'Āfif, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, by Shams-i-'Āfif.
5. Ā'in, Jarrett, Ā'in-i-Akbarī, by Abu'l Fazl, translated into English by H. Blochmann and Jarrett.
6. Badā'ūnī, Muntakhab u't-tawārīkh or Tārīkh-i-Badā'ūnī, by Abdu'l-Qadir Badā'ūnī.
7. Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, by Zīā ud-dīn Baranī.
8. B.M., British Museum.
9. C.H.I. Cambridge History of India.
10. Firishta, Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī or Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī, or Tārīkh-i-Firishta, by Muhammad Qasim Firishta.
11. Ghulām Hasan, A Short Account of Jaunpūr, by Ghulām Hasan.
12. Hādī, Haft Gulshan-i-Muhammad Shāhī.
13. Hasan, Ahsan u't-tawārīkh or Muntakhab u't Tawārīkh by Hasan bin Muhammad Shīrāzī.
14. I.O., India Office.



15. The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Allahabad, Vol.II.
16. Mushtāqī, Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī, also called Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī by Ahl-ullah Mushtāqī, alias Rizq Ullah.
17. Ni'mat Ullah, Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodī wa Makhsan-i-Afghānī, by Khwāja Ni'mat Ullah Harvī.
18. Nūr ul-Haqq, Zubdat u't tawārīkh, by Nūr ul-Haqq-at Mashraqī ud-Dehlvi.
19. Rāī Bindrāban, Lubb u't tawārīkh, by Rāī Bindrāban.
20. Sujān Rāī, Khulāst u't tawārīkh, by Sujān Rāī Munshī.
21. Tabaqāt, Tabaqāt-i-Akhbarī, by Khwāja Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad.
22. Tāhir, Rauzat u't Tāhrin, by Tāhir Muhammad Sabazwārī.
23. Tazkirah, Tazkirah-i-ulāmā-i-Hind, by Rehmān 'Alī.
24. Yahyā, Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, by Yahyā bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindī.
25. Zafar u'l Wālih, Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa ālih, by Abdullah Muhammad, also called Hajī ud-dabīr, edited by Sir E. Denson Ross in 3 vols. as An Arabic History of Gujarāt.

(B) JOURNALS.

1. B.P.P.  
/Bengal = Past and Present.
2. J.A.S.P., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.

3. J.B.O.H.R.S. Journal of the Bihār and Orissa Historical Research Society.
4. J.I.H. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
5. J.P.H.S. Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi.
6. J.R.A.S.B. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
7. I.C. Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan.
8. I.H.Q. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
9. M.I.Q. Medieval Indian Quarterly, Aligarh.

(C) GAZETTEERS.

1. Imp. Gaz. Imperial Gazetteers.
2. U.P.D. Gaz. U.P. District Gazetteer.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### (A) Importance of the Sultanate.

In the closing years of the 14th century four important provincial kingdoms emerged. The founders of these provincial kingdoms were in all cases former officers of the Tughluqs. Khāndesh was founded in 1382 by Malik Rāja, a personal attendant of Fīrūz. Mālwah became an independent kingdom in 1392 under a governor under Fīrūz Dīlāwar Khān, who came from Ghor. Jaunpūr was founded in 1394 by Malik Sarwar, a Khwāja-sara of Fīrūz, and Gujarat declared its independence in 1396 under Zafar Khān, son of a Rājput convert. Bengal had been an independent kingdom since 1336, and <sup>the</sup> Bahmanī sultanate had come into existence in 1347 under 'Alā ud-din Hasan Shāh, of foreign stock. The history of the two kingdoms founded earlier followed a course slightly different from that of the other dynasties which were founded later. Among these provincial kingdoms Jaunpūr occupied an important position. Though its life span was the shortest (for the independent kingdom of Khāndesh lasted for 219 years, the Bahmanī Sultanate 180 years, Gujarāt 176 years and Jaunpūr only 101 years), yet its history is full of

significant developments both political and cultural.

One very important fact about the kingdom of Jaunpūr is that it was formed in the heart of northern India and included the Khālsa areas of the Dehlī Sultanate. This was the source of its weakness. No other founder of a provincial kingdom was looked upon by the Sultāns of Dehli as a greater rival to their power than the ruler of Jaunpūr. This accounts for the large number of battles and conflicts which the Sharqīs had with the Sultāns of Dehli. Geopolitically the kingdom of Jaunpūr was in a peculiar position. It extended from Koil to the frontiers of Bengal on one side and from the foothills of the Himalayas to the borders of Mālwah on the other. The rulers of Orissa and Lakhnautī were its feudatories. This means that the slices which were cut off and made part of the Sharqī kingdom belonged to different administrative traditions. Many of the difficulties which the rulers of Jaunpūr had to face arose out of the heterogeneous character of their possessions. This also partly accounts for the comparatively short span of the life of the new kingdom. It was a tremendous strain on the energies and resources of the rulers of Jaunpūr to control this diverse population.

Notwithstanding all the handicaps the kingdom of Jaunpūr was a focal point in the history of Medieval India for nearly a century. During this period six rulers occupied the throne of Jaunpūr. Khwāja-i-Jāhān and his adopted son ruled for brief periods but Ibrāhīm Mahmūd and Husain ruled from 1401 to 1495 excluding the rule of Muhammad for a few months in 1458. The reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm, Sultān Mahmūd and Sultān Husain covers a period of nearly ninety-four years, during which Jaunpūr rose to its pre-eminent position in Northern India. Its rulers had to fight on all frontiers - with Dehli on one side, Mālwah on the other and Orissa on the third. Thus hemmed in on all sides by hostile powers Jaunpūr had to increase its military strength. It is estimated that the army of the Sharqī Sultāns comprised 170,000 horses and 1,400 elephants. This was the largest army that any kingdom had in that period. In spite of this incessant military activity on almost all frontiers of their kingdom, the Sharqī rulers found time for peaceful pursuits. They encouraged education, patronized artists and musicians, scholars and divines, and erected magnificent buildings. Percy Brown remarks that the Sharqī rule was a period of great architectural activity and the architecture developed

in Jaunpūr exercised great influence on the architectural achievements of other places. Brown further remarks that had not Sikandar Lodī ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the Sharqī rulers its buildings would have provided a provincial manifestation of Indo-Islamic architecture of more than ordinary interest. The buildings that have survived Lodī destruction are nine mosques of Jaunpūr and twelve large tombs and shrines of rulers and saints. They have survived because their destruction was considered sacrilegious. In the case of the tombs of the rulers, however, the domes have been destroyed. A few remnants of palaces, forts, etc., tell the story of the architectural glory of Jaunpūr. Outside the city of Jaunpūr there are a few mosques, tombs and shrines of the Sharqī period at Zafarābād, Dalmū, Rāī Bareli, Bihār, Makhanpūr, Machhlishāhr and other places. The Sharqīs founded new cities and also restored some old ones. Their irrigation schemes and public works such as bridges, canals, wells and gardens, though now in a bad condition, testify how much they cared for the welfare of their subjects.

Jaunpūr became one of the most renowned seats of Muslim learning in the East. Eminent scholars like

Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī flocked to it from far and near. The academic importance which Jaunpūr attained under the Sharqīs outlived the dynasty itself. As late as the seventeenth century Shāh Jahān called it the Shirāz of India. Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī, who was held in high esteem by Sultān Ibrāhim, produced several works which became part of the syllabus of Muslim education practically throughout the whole country. His commentaries and several of his works on Muslim religion and philosophy are still held in high esteem. The respect in which the Sharqī rulers were held by religious scholars and divines of other kingdoms may be gauged from the fact that when Ganesh established his rule in Bengal, the great saint of Pandua, Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'Ālam, turned to the Sharqī ruler for help. The historian Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, was inclined to reject the role of Nūr Qutb ul-'Ālam in overthrowing Ganesh, but the discovery of the letters of Nūr Qutb ul-'Ālam and Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī has restored the complete picture.

Another aspect of Jaunpūr's greatness in the 15th century is that some of the most important mystic orders and movements of the period arose there. Shāh Madār who migrated from Syria and founded the Madāriya

Order at Makhanpūr belongs to the Sharqī period. Some of the leaders of the Hindu Bhakti Movement belonged to the area under the Sharqī rulers. Sayyid Muhammad, the founder of <sup>the</sup> Mahdavi Movement, which became a force in the subsequent years, belonged to Jaunpūr. The founder of the Shattāri Mystic Movement in India, Shāh 'Abdullah, made Jaunpūr his first headquarters when he came to India from Persia during the reign of Ibrāhīm Sharqī.

(B) The Scope of the Work.

Notwithstanding its great cultural achievements and political grandeur, no contemporary history of Jaunpūr has reached us. It is difficult to believe that no court chroniclers or official histories were compiled during this period, as the compilation of official histories was a long established Muslim tradition. In India the first history compiled at the instance of the rulers is the Tāj-ul-ma'āsir by Sadr ud-dīn Hasan Nizām, (626 / 1228-9). All important rulers tried to have some sort of official account of their regimes. During the Tughluq period the tradition of official history was a fully developed one, and a very large number of official and semi-official histories - like Manāquib-i-Firūz Shāhi, Manāqib-i-Muhammad

bin Tughluq, Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, compiled by Shams i-Sirāj 'Afīf, Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, compiled by Zia ud-dīn Baranī, Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, etc. - were compiled. It is, therefore, strange that the Sharqīs, who were so near the Tughluq traditions, did not have an official account of their reign prepared by their court historians. It sounds all the more strange when it is kept in mind that there was no dearth of talented scholars to undertake this work. We are inclined to think that in all probability the works of Sharqī historians met the same fate as the Sharqī monuments at the hands of the Lodī Sultāns. Two early references in mystic literature confirm this surmise. The Latā'if-i-Quddūsī, a collection of the conversations of Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddūs Gangohī, contains a reference to a versified Persian translation of Mullā Dā'ūd's Chandā'in, which, it is pointed out, "perished when war broke out between Sultān Bahlūl and Sultān Husain". Another interesting reference to the extinction of contemporary historical material is found in the Akhbār ul-akhyār of Shaikh Abdul-Haqq, the famous Muhaddis of Dehli. The Shaikh says that one of his ancestors had compiled a versified account of the conflict between Bahlūl and Sultān Husain, but even his earnest endeavours to trace this book

proved abortive.

The Dehli historians have shown scant interest in the Sharqī dynasty because of its rival character. The author of Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, Yahyā bin Ahmad Sirhindī, who brought down his history to the year 1434, was in a position to supply valuable information about the early Sharqī Sultāns. But all that he has given is a few scattered incidents about the first three Sharqī rulers. Later historians like Muhammad Kabīr, the author of Afsān<sup>ah</sup>-i-Shāhān, Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, the author of Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, and Rizq Ullah Mushtāqī, the author of Wāqī'āt i-Mushtāqī, have supplied merely anecdotes; no sober history can be constructed on their basis. A systematic effort to prepare a brief but authentic account of the Sharqīs was made by Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, the famous Bakhshī of Akbar. Elliot, correctly remarks about this work that it was the first to be composed upon a new model. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad has given interesting accounts of the provincial kingdoms of the 14th and 15th centuries. A very pertinent question may be raised in this connection: from where did Nizām ud-dīn get his information about the Sharqīs? It is again surprising that though Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad has referred to his sources of information about



other periods of history, he makes no reference to his sources with regard to the Sharqīs. Probably Nizām ud-dīn relied mostly on those historical traditions that were available to him, but used his strong historical sense in order to put the events in their proper historical perspective. That Nizām ud-dīn sifted his material carefully is confirmed by the fact that his dates and other factual information are corroborated by numismatic and archaeological evidence. All later historians, like Firishta, have given merely a summary or a rehash of Nizām ud-dīn's account of the Sharqī rulers.

Later writers in Persian and Urdū did not attempt more detailed accounts of the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpūr. As late as 1800 A.D. one Khair ud-dīn Muhammad, a resident of Allahābād, thought of compiling a history of Jaunpūr. Khair ud-dīn was at first a schoolteacher at Allahābād. Later he found employment on the staff of Captain Bruce of the East India Company. Somehow Khair ud-dīn developed his interest in local histories and wherever he was posted he undertook to complete a history of that area. He wrote the history of Benāras, Tuhfa-i-Tāzah, a history of Gawāliar, Gawāliar Nāma, and a history of Jaunpūr, Jaunpūr Nāma. Though much useful information

has been collected by Khair ud-dīn, his work hardly meets the expectations of a modern scholar.

W.R. Pogson was the first Western scholar to display keen interest in the history of Jaunpūr. Early in the nineteenth century, when in the service of the East India Company, he translated some portion of Khair ud-dīn's work into English. For many years Pogson's work was the only history of Jaunpūr available in the English language. Nearly half a century later Cunningham started his researches on Indian archaeology. His Archaeological Survey Reports contain detailed description of the Sharqī monuments of Jaunpūr. Führer's work on the monuments of Jaunpūr is the first systematic attempt to study the archaeological remains of the Sharqī period. Later historians have drawn their information mainly from the pioneer work of Führer. But Führer was primarily interested in archaeology. He gives merely a skeleton of the history of Jaunpūr. Later the compilation of the Gazetteers was taken up by Nevill, who collected some further information about the history and architecture of Jaunpūr. Both Nevill and Cunningham followed Pogson's work. But they have referred to one work, Manāqib-i-Darwēshiya, which has now vanished.

In the text books which were written in the early decade of the present century the information about Jaunpūr was drawn mainly from the aforementioned books. V.A. Smith, in his Oxford History of India dismisses Jaunpūr in a few paragraphs. No historian thought it worthwhile to go into the political history of the Sharqī kingdom. They confined their accounts to the description of the Atāla Mosque and a few other tombs and mosques of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr. Even Sir Wolseley Haig gives in the Cambridge History of India, a very brief account of the Sharqī kingdom which is disproportionate to its importance in the history of medieval India. Ishwarī Prasād in his History of Medieval India improves upon the account of the preceeding historians by giving<sup>a</sup>/somewhat fuller picture of the political and cultural history of Jaunpūr. In the chapter on the disintegration of the Sultanate he refers to the political and cultural contribution of the Sharqīs and their architectural monuments. But this account is also tantalizing in its meagreness. The Vidhya Bhavan series edited by R.C. Majumdar, also contains a chapter in its volume on the Dehli Sultanate. This chapter is no more than a rehash of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī: no attempt has been made to determine the place of the Sharqī kingdom in the history of Medieval India and

no assessment has been made of its cultural contribution; on the whole this section is unimaginative and dull.

This being the position of the historical writings, medieval and modern, on the Sharqī kingdom, other sources of information have to be tapped for constructing an account of it. I have tried to make a critical use of the information available in (1) coins; (2) inscriptions; (3) letters of saints; (4) records of conversations of saints; (5) local histories of other provincial kingdoms; (6) biographical accounts of scholars and saints; (7) encyclopaedic works like Subh-i-Sādiq and Rauzat ut-Tāhrīn; and (8) literature available in Hindī and local dialects.

In the last fifty years the history of many provincial dynasties of Medieval India has been attempted, Commissariat has dealt with the history of Gujarāt, and Haroon Khān Shirwānī and Abdul Qādir Husainī have dealt with the history of Bahmanīs. The history of Bengal has also been written under the supervision of Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkar, and is again being re-written. A history of Bihār has also appeared as Bihār Through the Ages, but this fails to give a complete picture of the Sharqī Kingdom

which in its day covered the major portion of Bihār.  
No separate monograph has so far been attempted on the  
history of Jaunpūr. My work is a humble attempt to  
fill this gap in our historical studies.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SHARQĪ SULTANATE.

When the mosaic pattern of Indian History is surveyed as a whole there is considerable evidence that a cycle of centralization and decentralization has always been in motion. Whenever a great power has appeared in the North, it has always sought extension of its power to the South. This has, however, marked the climax as well as the beginning of the anticlimax of that power. Absence of swift means of communication, geographical barriers, cultural diversities, regional prejudices, and economic factors have always weakened the centripetal tendencies.

When the Turks established their hegemony in the last decade of the 12th century, India had been passing through a phase of decentralization, and the whole country was divided into small political fragments without any semblance of cohesion or unity. Iltutmish welded into a compact homogeneous state what had been bequeathed to him as a congeries of scattered Muslim acquisitions of Hindustān. Balban further consolidated the Turkish Empire, but the fear of the Mongols'

expansion put a check on his ambition. Preservation rather than expansion became the policy of the Dehli Sultanate under Balban.

With the advent of 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī (1296 A.D.) a new era of imperialism began. But 'Alā ud-dīn was a grim political realist. He knew where to stop and when. Fully conscious of the limitations resulting from geographical and economic factors and regional diversities, he desisted from pursuing a uniform policy with regard to the areas conquered by him. He followed three different policies with reference to the new Khaljī acquisitions. In the region around Dehli he relentlessly followed a policy of direct annexation and integration, converted iqta lands into Khālsa lands and brought the whole region under central control, both economically and administratively.<sup>1</sup> Secondly a policy of partial annexation and partial local freedom was followed in Rājputāna.<sup>2</sup> Finally in the Deccan he aimed

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1. K.S. Lāl, History of the Khaljīs, pp. 1

2. Ibid. He captured Chitor in 1302 A.D. and Rāna Ratan Singh was brought to Dehli as a prisoner. Here then his son, Khizr Khān, was appointed as Governor, but at the latter's failure, Arsi, the nephew of Ratan Singh, who had entered the royal services was appointed Governor. He remained loyal to 'Alā ud-dīn, and till the latter's death regularly attended his court to present his tribute.

merely at the recognition of his overlordship by the independent rulers of the South. When a Hindu Rāja accepted his suzerainty, he allowed him complete freedom to carry on the administration on traditional lines.<sup>1</sup> This policy, dictated by a clear and unerring political instinct, worked well and helped the Sultān in retaining his imperial hold over the far-flung parts of the empire.

Muhammad bin Tughlūq abandoned this policy. He considered 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljīs' arrangements as half-hearted, a temporary solution of a permanent problem. In contrast Muhammad bin Tughlūq initiated a policy of direct control over the regions which had formerly enjoyed relative autonomy, thus throwing a challenge to the age-long centrifugal tendencies.<sup>2</sup> The rise of the

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1. 'Alā ud-dīn in 1294 A.D. had invaded Ramchandrā rāja of Deogīr. The defeated Rāja sued for peace. According to the terms the province of Ellichpūr was to be administered at 'Alā ud-dīn's convenience, i.e. either by his or Rām Chandra's officers. He also received extravagant indemnity, which consisted of gold, pearls, silver and other gems of very high price. K.S. Lāl, History of the Khaljīs, pp.
  2. In the second year of his reign Bahā ud-dīn Gashtāsp, his first cousin and fief holder of Sāgar, refused to recognise him as king and also instigated the whole Deccan to revolt. When he could not face the imperial army, he took refuge first under the Rāja of Kāpīlā and then under Vira Ballāla III. But he was captured and flayed alive. This revolt politically affected the whole country.

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provincial kingdoms from the forties of the fourteenth century onward can be ascribed to this policy of over-centralization and its eventual breakdown.

Muhammad bin Tughlūq, who was one of the ablest men of his age, controlled his dominions in the first few years of his reign very well. He extended his royal patronage to scholars of all descriptions. At the time of his succession to the throne, his display of splendour, accompanied by liberal gifts to all sections of the population, as has been described by Baranī, strengthened the loyalty of his subjects towards him.<sup>1</sup> Though in the early part of his reign there were some rebellions, yet his administration was efficient and he

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Muhammad bin Tughluq realising the importance of the Dēccān, transferred his capital to Daulatābad. His aggressive policy in the south menaced the Hindus, who consequently established their independent kingdom of Vajayanagar in 1336 A.D. Battūta, Kitāb Rihlat, vol.II, pp.72-73. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.140.

1. Baranī, pp.460-62. Yayā, pp.97-99.

successfully subdued all recalcitrant elements.<sup>1</sup> He not only established his authority over the northern provinces, but he was also able to enlarge his dominions. Wārangal was conquered and annexed in 728/1327-28 and the conquest of Ma'bar and Dvārasmudra was effected soon afterwards.<sup>2</sup> This enabled him to establish his sovereignty in the far south as far as Madūra. Thus within a few years he extended his sway over the remotest provinces of India, except a small portion of South India.

The whole kingdom of Muhammad bin Tughluq enjoyed peace and prosperity, as he had suppressed the elements of disorder, and thus the first few years of his reign represent the palmiest days of the Tughluq Empire. The administration of the country was efficient and the provincial governors were obedient to royal commands. The fame of his court reached distant lands,

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1. The earliest rebellion of his reign was that of his first cousin, Bahā ud-din Gushtāsp, a fief holder of Sāgar, in the Deccan. He was defeated and flayed alive. The most serious rebellion was that of Bahrām Aiba (Kishlū Khān), his adopted uncle holding the fief of Uch, Sīnd and Multan. He was also captured and beheaded. Battūta, vol.II, pp.72-73. Baranī, op.cit., pp.478-79. Yayā, op.cit., pp.99-100, incorrectly writes Bahrām Aiba's name as Bahrām Aynah.

2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp.83 and 91.

and foreigners from Asiatic countries came to India to partake of his bounty.<sup>1</sup>

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the Tughluq Empire gradually started disintegrating. The author of A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India appears justified in remarking that "Muhammad's reckless profusion, his merciless treatment of subordinates, his capricious behaviour towards the hereditary nobility whom he excluded from his favour and his preferential treatment of the foreign amirs - all combined to precipitate the disruption of his empire."<sup>2</sup>

Several other factors hastened the process of disintegration. One of these was a change in the character and composition of the governing class. The strength and stability of an empire in the Middle Ages was very largely dependent on the compactness, solidarity, loyalty and co-operation of the governing class. The early Muslim rulers, who in the main had derived their

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1. Badā'ūnī, p.232, writes that many people from the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Samarqand arrived in Hindustān in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān.

2. Ishwari Prasad, A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India, Vol.I, p.186.

vitality from the racial solidarity of the Turks, had created a strong ruling class from their own people. By contrast the Khaljīs employed local people.<sup>1</sup> Later, imitating the Khaljīs, the Tughluqs employed heterogeneous elements: foreign as well as Indian, slaves and freemen, and new converts, in the military departments as well as in the civil service.<sup>2</sup> In the military departments the foreign elements freely indulged in intrigue whenever and wherever they found an opportunity, and revolted against their royal master. The first of these to revolt and declare his independence in 738/1337 in Bengal was Fakhr ud-dīn, the armour-bearer of Bahrām Khān, with the result that Bengal was lost to the sultanate for ever.<sup>3</sup> So, too, the province of Ma'bar, rebelled and proclaimed its independence under its governor, Ahsan

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1. Malik Kāfūr, Alap Khān and many such others belong to this class.
  2. Baranī, pp.521-22.
  3. Baranī, p.480. Yahyā, pp.104-6. Fakhr ud-dīn was finally assassinated by Ilyās Hajī, who ascended the throne of Lakhnāutī under the designation of Sultān Shams ud-dīn.

Shāh (1334-35 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> These revolts radically affected the north where Ibrāhīm Shāh (1336-37 A.D.), governor of Sarsūtī and Hānsi,<sup>2</sup> and Nizām Mā'īn, governor of Kara (1338-39 A.D.), also revolted to gain independence.<sup>3</sup> They further encouraged persons such as 'Aīn ul-Mulk Multānī (1340-41 A.D.), the governor of Awadh, and Zafarābād,<sup>4</sup> Amīr Hulājūn (1342 A.D. at Lahore),<sup>5</sup> and Shāhū Afghān (1341-42 A.D. at Multān)<sup>6</sup> to revolt against

1. Battūta, Vol.II, pp.75-76. Yahyā, p.106 is mistaken in writing his name as (Sayyid) Hasan (Kaithalī) Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.231 is also mistaken in identifying this name and incident with Hasan Gangū, the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom in the Deccan. Ahsan Shāh was actually a Sayyid of Kaithal (near Dehli) and once a purse-bearer of the Sultan. Also 'Ajā'ib ul-Asfār, Vol.II, p.163.
2. Battūta, Vol.II, pp.78-79. He was the brother-in-law of Battūta. See C.H.I., Vol.III, p.49. He was brutally executed.
3. Baranī, p.487. Yahyā, p.108. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.233.
4. Battūta, Vol.II, pp.79-82. Baranī, pp.489-91. Yahyā, pp. 109-10. 'Aīn ul-Mulk was one of the reputed nobles of Khaljis and had also served under Ghiyās ud-din Tughluq I. Muhammad bin Tughluq's suspicious policy towards his nobles encouraged him to disobey his order and made him revolt against him.
5. Battūta, Vol.II, pp.81-82. Amīr Hulājūn killed the fief holder, Tātār Khān, and declared his independence.
6. Ibid, pp.85-86. Baranī, pp.482-83. Yahyā, pp.106-7. They all contradict one another in recording his flight. Baranī writes that when the Sultan marched against him, he fled for good to Afghānistān. Battūta and Yahyā both are not clear about his end. They simply write that he fled to the mountains. But they all seem to be vague. Actually

Muhammad bin Tughluq. This upset the peace of the empire to a great extent. There followed a succession of rebellions covering the Panjāb, Mālwah and Gujarāt.

In these grim circumstances the eastern and southern provinces down to the Narbadā threw off the yoke and established well defined principalities, with Madūra Wārangal and Vijayānagar as their capitals.<sup>1</sup> A large number of foreigners in the government of Mālwah, Gujarāt and other southern regions created further disturbances. Above all the Amīrān-i-Sadah now also revolted openly against the Imperial authority and created disorder in almost all parts of the empire. Taking advantage of such circumstances, the Gujarātī and Deogarī amīrs chose one of their leaders, Ismā'il Makh Afghān, as their king.<sup>2</sup> The amīrs of Khāndesh and Berār were

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he fled to Mālwah and Gujarāt to incite other Afghāns against the Sultān.

1. <sup>a</sup> Aghā Mehdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p.178. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.489.

2. Baranī, p.514. Yahyā, p.111.

not slow to follow the example of their compatriots. When Tāghī (1345 A.D.), originally a shoemaker and a slave of Safdar Malik Sultānī, revolted <sup>1</sup> and drew Muhammad bin Tughluq's attentions to Gujarāt, Hasan Gangū, finding the opportunity, raised the standard of sovereignty in the Deccan (1347 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Thus the Deccan also slipped from the grasp of the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughluq pathetically fought alone throughout the long struggle with adverse circumstances. The author of the History of the Qaraunah Turks in India rightly observes that "The Deccan proved the sphinx of the situation. What the Marathas did for Aurangzeb, the Mughul Emperor, the Deccan Amīrs did on a small scale and with less resources for Muhammad bin Tughluq."<sup>3</sup> He found the Deccan revolt a running sore which ultimately ruined him. It may be remembered that the regional

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1. Yahyā, pp.112-13. Baranī, pp.515-23. Aghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.185-89. After killing the deputy and plundering Cambay and Broach, he fled to Sind and caused further disturbance there. He ruined the Sultān politically as well as economically.
  2. Baranī, p.515. Yahyā, p.112. Aghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.184-85.
  3. Ishwarī Barāsd, A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India, Vol.I, p.235.

elements were also involved in these revolts, and were always on the lookout for any opportunity to assert their independence.

There were also economic factors involved in the rise of the provincial kingdoms. When Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne his finance department was working satisfactorily. He spent lavishly from the royal treasury in giving rewards to his Amīrs as well as to foreign visitors.<sup>1</sup> He also spent a large amount of money for the establishment of the new capital of Deogīr,<sup>2</sup> and was encouraged to extend his military operations beyond the boundaries of India.<sup>3</sup> To improve his financial position he attempted to increase taxation, but this had grave consequences for the public, and the revenue of the country dwindled.<sup>4</sup> Then, too,

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1. Baranī, pp.460-62. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.88-9.

2. Baranī, pp.473-74.

3. Ibid, pp.477-78. The expedition of Qarāchīl - in which he lost eighty thousand cavalry. For details, see Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.126-30 and R.R. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p.274.

4. Baranī, p.473. Yahyā, pp.101-2. Badā'ūnī, p.228. Baranī only mentions about the tribute which was increased ten to twenty per cent, whereas others also mention about other taxes and the numbering of cattle.



the Qarāchīl expedition not only ruined the Sultān financially, but also affected the general prosperity of the country.<sup>1</sup> As the treasury paid in cash for the houses

of those people who migrated from Dehli to Daulatābād, public funds were diminished.<sup>2</sup> Muhammad bin Tughluq's enactment that a muhar of copper should become current on equal footing with the muhar of silver also led to many corrupt practices in this whole kingdom; these ultimately ruined his treasury.<sup>3</sup> Above all the failure

of <sup>the</sup> monsoons forced him to face prolonged and serious famines, which gravely dislocated his revenue system and frustrated all hopes of good government.<sup>4</sup> The contemporary chroniclers remark that in the districts of the Doāb man was still devouring man and thousands perished

1. Baranī, pp.437-74 and 477-78. As mentioned before, he lost eighty thousand cavalry on this expedition. He is mistaken in mentioning the name of this expedition as Farājal. Yahyā, p.101, is also incorrect in this respect - he writes Qarājal. The real name of these mountains where his cavalry marched and was destroyed is Koh ī-Qarāchīl; also see 'Ajā'ib-ul-Afsār, Vol.II, pp.160-1. For details see Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.126-30.
2. Baranī, pp.475-76. Yahyā, pp.102-3. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp. 228-29.
3. Ibid, pp.228-29. Baranī, pp.475-76. Yahyā, pp.102-3.
4. Baranī, p.473. Yahyā, pp.113-14. For seven years there was not a single drop of rain.

for want of food.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad bin Tughluq abandoned all his military plans in an attempt to fight against his misfortunes. He abolished all the non-Shar'ī taxes and duties on foreign goods.<sup>2</sup> To encourage cultivation and production he gave loans and other facilities to the peasantry, and financed the sinking of wells.<sup>3</sup> Permission was also given to families to migrate to Hindustān for the period of distress.<sup>4</sup> He spent about two crores for their relief and settlement, which became a heavy burden upon the exchequer at an unfavourable time.<sup>5</sup> Above all, embezzlement by the officers and Shiqdārs of the Department of Dīwān-ī-Kohī undermined the Sultanate's economy.<sup>5</sup> Muhammad bin Tughluq's misfortunes thus brought him face to face with one of the most serious crises in the

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1. Baranī, p.485. Battūta, Vol.II, p.89.

2. R.R. Tripathī, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p.277.

3. Ibid, pp.277-78.

4. Ibid, p.278.

5. Ibid, p.278.

6. Ibid, pp.498-99.

which had in fact been founded and consolidated by slaves. Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban were the last good products of such a system. But during the reign of the Khaljis and the Tughluqs this system degenerated, so that even slaves of good repute such as Malik Kāfur, under 'Alā ud-dīn Khalji and Malik Tāghī, under Muhammad bin Tughluq, misbehaved and defied their masters in a most disgraceful way.<sup>1</sup> When Fīrūz Shāh succeeded to the throne, he increased the number of slaves excessively. According to 'Afīf, a contemporary historian, the number of his slaves was one lakh and eighty thousand, out of which 40,000 served as guards at the palace and 1,200 as artisans in Dehli.<sup>2</sup> These slaves had a department of their own with a treasury muster-master and district officials, a system which was essentially a great burden

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1. Āghā Mehdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p.6. 'Alā ud-dīn Khalji had promoted Malik Kāfur, a slave, to commander-in-chief of the empire and had also raised him to the position of a chief minister. He poisoned the Sultān's mind, imprisoned and exiled Khizr Khān, heir-apparent, and executed Alap Khān who was maternal uncle and father-in-law of Khizr Khān. Thus he proved fatal to the Khalji Sultanate. Malik Tāghī a slave of Muhammad bin Tughluq, provoked to rebellion, Gujrat and other adjacent parts of his empire. See Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.185-88.
  2. 'Afīf, pp.160-61. Yahyā, mentions the number of his slaves as one lakh. See also Firishta, Vol.I, p.270. I.H. Qureshi, op.cit., pp.65-66.

history of India.

To add to his burden he was also at war with the Pīrs and 'Ulāmā of his time whom he compelled to migrate to Daulalābād.<sup>1</sup> This aroused against him universal scorn, so that his subjects refused to co-operate with him, a struggle which has been immortalized in the pages of Baranī. When discussing the Deccan experiment of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Gardner Brown, makes a significant observation that in the fourteenth century the centre of economic gravity had shifted to the north.<sup>2</sup> Viewed in the light of this observation, it is clear that the economic decay of Dehli, which could not remain the centre of a vast empire, excited the cupidity of the provincial governors and forced a large number of scholars, saints and poets to leave Dehli and its adjoining regions, and to settle in provincial towns which were soon to emerge as the seats of regional kingdoms.

The government organization in the Tughluq period was far from efficient. The wazīr and the provincial

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1. Āgha Mehdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp. 121-23.

2. Ibid, p.109.

governors and their officials, appointed mostly by favour, were corrupt, and ultimately helped to ruin the kingdom. Muhammad bin Tughluq had invested the office of the wazīr with more power, a change dangerous to the machinery of government, unless the wazīr had great individual responsibility and rare ability.<sup>1</sup> He conferred the post of wīzārat on Ahmad Ayāz, an elderly man, who had been the superintendent of public works under Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq.<sup>2</sup> He could not prove a success and his promotion to such a high post proved a failure, as he could not handle the officers of the government properly.<sup>3</sup> After his death his deputy (a converted Telang Hindū) succeeded him. Fīrūz Tughluq had so much trust in him that he would absent himself from the capital for long periods.<sup>4</sup> A wazīr under Fīrūz had so much power that he could even

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1. I.H. Quereshi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, pp.50, 84-85.

2. Yahyā, p.98.

3. R.R. Tripāthī, op.cit., p.183. I.H. Quereshi, op.cit., p.50 - mentions that Ahmad Ayāz was virtually a monarch.

4. 'Afīf Tārīkh i-Fīrūz Shāhī, p.399. During the first seven years of his reign the Sultān spent only thirteen days in the capital. See also R.R. Tripāthī, op.cit., p.183.

appoint or dismiss high officials such as Ashraf-i-Mumalik.<sup>1</sup> This high position and authority of the wazīr always made his subordinates and the nobles of the court jealous. When Muhammad Shāh (1389 A.D.), son of Firūz Shāh, came to the throne, Islām Khān was given the office of the wazīr. He was completely free to bring about any change in the government.<sup>2</sup> When Muhammad Shāh was away in the Doāb surveying the new fort of Muhammadābād, Islām Khān planned to go to Panjāb to stir up rebellion there. The Sultān was soon informed of his plans by Khawāja Sarwar, nāib wazīr of the empire. Muhammad Shāh soon reached the capital and after an enquiry punished the wazīr, and thus the office of the wizārat came to Khawāja Sarwar, a favourite of the Sultān and the future founder of the Sharqī kingdom.<sup>3</sup> When the latter was appointed to the governorship of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr, Mallū Iqbāl Khān succeeded to the post of wazīr. He too misused his powers and

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1. 'Afīf, op.cit., p.426. Yahyā, op.cit., pp.135-36. R.R. Tripāthī, op.cit., p.184. I.H. Quṛēshī, op.cit., pp.78-9. Khan Jahan in the later parts of Firūz's reign had unlimited powers.

2. C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.191-92.

3. K.S. Lāl, Twilight of the Sultanate, p.7.

proved a sore to his master. He became hostile to Sultān Mahmūd (1394-1413 A.D.) and darkened the last days of the Tughluq dynasty with his intrigues. In fact, he had become the master of the capital, and now began to dream of being the future ruler of Dehli.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the wazīr, the provincial governors whose appointments were mostly made through personal favour, damaged the Tughluq Sultanate. They, too, were in some way responsible for the general deterioration of the state's affairs, which ultimately ruined the Sultānate. Persons such as Fakhr ud-dīn, originally an armour-bearer of Bahrān Khān, governor of Bengal,<sup>2</sup> Ahsan Shāh of Ma'bar and purse-bearer of the Sultān,<sup>3</sup> and his son, Ibrāhīm Shāh, governor of Sarsūtī, and Hānsī and brother-in-law of Ibn-ī-Battūta,<sup>4</sup> Bahā ud-dīn Ghursh-tāsp, a fief holder of Sāgar and first cousin of Muhammad

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1. W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Muslim India, p.54.

2. He was actually de facto ruler of Dehli for some years. His intrigues and politics forced Muhammad Tughluq to leave Dehli and to live in Kanaig, where he remained till his death. C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.193-205.

3. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.262.

4. Aghā Mehdī Husain, "The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq", p.142.

bin Tughluq,<sup>1</sup> Kishlū Khān, fief holder of Multān, Uch and Sind, an adopted uncle of the Sultān,<sup>2</sup> and many others were employed by favour of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Such people revolted and attempted to establish their independence and to bring about the downfall of his empire.

The same happened during the reign of the next rulers, Fīrūz Shāh, Muhammad Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh, Malik Rāja, a fief holder under Fīrūz and formerly one of his guardsmen,<sup>3</sup> Dilāwar Khān, one of the favourite nobles of Fīrūz Shāh, governor of Mālwah and a great friend of his son, Muhammad Shāh,<sup>4</sup> Zafar Khān, nephew of Fīrūz's wife and governor of Gujarāt,<sup>5</sup> and Malik Sarwar, a Khwāja-sarā of Fīrūz Shāh,<sup>6</sup> and governor of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr, were all appointed to their respective posts because they were favourites of Muhammad bin Tughluq as well as of others.

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1. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.149.

2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.143-161. Ibid, pp.145-6.

3. Firishta, Vol.II, pp.541-42.

4. Ibid, pp.461-62.

5. Ibid, pp.41-42.

6. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.273. I.H. Quereshi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli, p.184.



When the last ruler, Mahmūd Shāh, was in troubled waters owing to the partisanship and politics of the nobles in the centre, these officials, instead of sending help to the Sultān, further created disturbances and declared independence one after another. Thus the favouritism of the Sultāns, the weak organisation of the government, both provincial and central, as both were never well-knit together, and the unrestricted authority and power of the provincial satraps were responsible for the deterioration of the Tughluq Empire.

Independent Hindū chiefs constituted another formidable threat to almost every dynasty in the Sultanate period. Hindū chiefs and rājās controlled large districts throughout this period. As the country was mostly populated by Hindūs, their co-operation was considered to be most important for the smooth running of the administration and the establishment of a good government. They held high posts even during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Ibn-Battūta and Baranī both testify to the existence of a Hindū provincial governor named Ratan.<sup>1</sup> Another Hindū, Dhārā Dhar, was holding

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1. Battūta, Vol.III, pp.105-6. Āghā Mehdi Husain "The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq", p.12.

the office of the Nāib Wazīr of Deogīr and was head of Dīwān-ī Uslūb during Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. These Hindū officials were paid, in return for their services to the state, by grants of land and other assignments.<sup>2</sup> Their duty was to collect revenues from the peasants and remit it to the exchequer - a work on which depended the prosperity of the country as well as the welfare of the government.<sup>3</sup> But these Hindū officials, because of their traditional influence, were often able to create trouble and hinder the collection of taxes. At that time the Hindū chiefs were the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim, and the Hindū peasants.<sup>4</sup> These chiefs, being suspicious of one another, created many problems and often proved disloyal to the crown. And whenever they found the chance they embezzled the revenue of the

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1. Baranī, pp.501-2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., p.12.

2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.12-13.

3. Ibid., p.12. I.H. Qureshī, The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli, pp.197-8.

4. Ibid, pp.185 and 195-7. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit.,p.12.

country and so burdened the treasury.<sup>1</sup>

Hindū chiefs, being masters of the peasants, also possessed a considerable military force and were eager to establish independence. In 1336 A.D. Rāīs of Vijayānagar were the pioneers in this respect; they captured a considerable territory in the Deccan and established an independent kingdom,<sup>2</sup> which may have encouraged the Hindū population to stand against the rulers of Dehli afterwards. In 1343 A.D. the rebellion of the Hindūs of Sāmāna Kaithal and Sunām, who abandoned agriculture and deserted the villages, seriously affected the peace of the realm.<sup>3</sup> In the year following the death of Sultān Fīrūz, one of the most notable results of the

1. Yahyā, pp. 102-3. I.H. Qureshī, op.cit., pp.197-8. Yahyā writes about a widespread fraud of 1330 A.D. when the token coinage was issued and every Hindū had turned his house into a mint. In various provinces they coined millions and thousands of copper coins and with that they paid their tributes and purchased horses and arms, etc. And when the issue was recalled, repayments were made in gold and silver at the face value of copper coins at tremendous cost. It completely ruined the royal treasury and had a very serious effect upon the general prosperity of the country.
2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, "The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq," p.162.
3. Baranī, pp.479-80, Yahyā, pp. 104-5, Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.230.

decline of the central authority was the large part played in politics by Hindū leaders. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh in 1391-92 A.D. the Hindūs of Etāwah led by Rāī Vīra Singh,<sup>1</sup> his younger brother, Uddhāran Singh,<sup>2</sup> and Rāī Sumer rose to rebellion. Islām Khān was sent against them, defeated them and carried Vīra Singh to Dehli.<sup>3</sup> But again, when the latter came back from Dehli, the rebellion broke out afresh, but was soon suppressed by Muhammad Shāh personally.<sup>4</sup> In 1393 A.D. the Rājpuṭs of Etāwah again rebelled, but were suppressed by the governor of Jalesar.<sup>5</sup> When Mahmūd (1394-1413 A.D.) came to the throne, he had also to deal with many rebellious Hindū chiefs. In the year 1394 A.D. the eastern provinces which had been rebellious for years past, created the worst kind of circumstances in that part of the country. Khawāja-i-Jahān Malik Sarwar, entitled Sultān

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1& K.S. Lal, "Twilight of the Sultanate", pp.6-7, gives their names whereas our chroniclers are mistaken in calling Vīra Singh Nur Singh or Bar Singh and Uddhāran Singh as Sarvadharan.

3. Yahyā, p.152.

4. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.192.

5. Yahyā, p.153. C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.192-93.

ush-Sharq, was sent to suppress the rebels.<sup>1</sup> His success in subduing the rebellion turned out to be the first step in the foundation of the Sharqī kingdom. But still in the later years of Mahmūd, apart from the centre, we find in other provinces the local peasantry under the Hindū chiefs withholding the revenue, and waging war against the Muslim governors.<sup>2</sup>

Another important factor which strengthened the forces of decentralization was the Imperial Slave Household. These slaves were captured during the wars, and were given a proper education at the court according to their ability. Some were also trained for the army, some for palace employment and some for mechanical trades.<sup>3</sup> The slave system had been originally and primarily a source of great strength to Muslim rule in India,

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1. C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.192-3. Yahyā, p.156.

2. K.S. Lāl, "Twilight of the Sultanate", p.6. During the governorship of Farhatul-Mulk the people of Gujarāt became rebellious. Zafar Khān was appointed to make peace with them. The latter defeated the former at the battle of Kamboī and established his causē there. Firishta, Vol.II, p.350. For details see M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujarāt, pp.48-49.

3. I.H. Qureshī, "The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli", pp.65-66.

which had in fact been founded and consolidated by slaves. Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban were the last good products of such a system. But during the reign of the Khaljis and the Tughluqs this system degenerated, so that even slaves of good repute such as Malik Kāfūr, under 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī, and Malik Tāghī, under Muhammad bin Tughluq, misbehaved and defied their masters in a most disgraceful way.<sup>1</sup> When Fīrūz Shāh succeeded to the throne, he increased the number of slaves excessively. According to 'Afīf, a contemporary historian, the number of his slaves was one lakh and eighty thousand, out of which 40,000 served as guards at the palace, and 1,200 as artisans in Dehli.<sup>2</sup> These slaves had a department of their own with a treasury muster-master and district officials, a system which was essentially a great burden

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1. Āghā Mehdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p.6. 'Ala ud-dīn Khaljī had promoted Malik Kāfūr, also a slave, to commander-in-chief of the empire and had raised him to the position of a chief minister. He poisoned the Sultān's mind, imprisoned and exiled Khizr Khan, heir-apparent, and executed Alap Khān who was maternal uncle and father-in-law of Khizr Khan. Thus he proved fatal to the Khaljī Sultanate. Malik Tāghī, a slave of Muhammad bin Tughluq, provoked to rebellion, Gujsāt and other adjacent parts of his empire. See Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., pp.185-88.

2. 'Afīf, pp.160-61. Yahyā, mentions the number of his slaves as one lakh. See also Firishta, Vol.I, p.270. I.H. Qureshī, op.cit., pp.65-66.

on the central exchequer.<sup>1</sup> The system, however, degenerated under Fīrūz and it became a source of weakness rather than strength to the crown. These slaves, as has been mentioned before, took part in baronial conspiracies and palace intrigues, and thus Fīrūz's closing years became clouded with troubles which further heightened the disorder of the whole Empire.<sup>2</sup> When Mahmūd and Nusrat Khān, a grandson of Fīrūz, were contesting for the throne of Dehli, these slaves of the old regime along with other Maliks and Amīrs at Fīrūzābād exposed the cause of the latter. Thus the crown of the Dehli Sultanate was tossed among their rival parties, and their conflicts disrupted the whole Empire.<sup>3</sup> During this last phase of political partisanship provincial governors who were waiting for the chance, were encouraged to throw off the Tughluq yoke.

Fīrūz Shāh's assignment and farming system was another reason for the downfall of the Tughluq dynasty.

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1. S. Lane-Poole, Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule, p.148.
  2. I.H. Qureshī, The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli, p.65.
  3. C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.193-205.

He lavishly paid his officials in the form of Jāgīrs and also revived the practice of assigning villages to individual troopers.<sup>1</sup> These assignees of all classes thus enjoyed more than a fair share of the prosperity of the kingdom, and by accumulating large stores they became very rich.<sup>2</sup> Thus the existence of assignments must be regarded as a factor working strongly in favour of local diversity, because it involved a large number of persons, who were more interested in collecting their dues than maintaining their lands. Fīrūz was also exceptionally liberal in the matter of grants. According to Baranī he not only restored grants which had been held in abeyance by his predecessors, but also made fresh grants.<sup>3</sup> The grants indeed often amounted to vice-royalties of great power, and during Fīrūz's reign we find large districts and even provinces assigned to eminent nobles - a factor tending to increase feudal power and fostering rebellion, and a situation which

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1. K.S. Lāl, "Twilight of the Sultanate", p.1.

2. W.H. Moreland, "The Agrarian System of Muslim India", pp.57-58.

3. Baranī, pp.558-59. He also restored the grants which had been withheld for the previous 170 years, i.e. even beyond the establishment of the Dehli Sultanate.



afterwards proved a great setback to the solidarity of the Empire. In the closing years of Fīrūz's reign such conditions obtained in most of the richer parts of the Empire. Mardān Daulat, entitled "King of the East", was holding Kara and Dalmū and Koil, Sindīla and Awadh established separate fiefs.<sup>1</sup> Gujarāt was under Sikandar, Zafarābād and Jaunpūr under another amīr, and Bihār was under Bīr Afghān.<sup>2</sup> All these nobles were expected to manage their internal affairs and to defend their frontiers.<sup>3</sup> Such fief holders, assignees and nobles often disturbed the peace of the realm, and their mutual conflicts and disloyalty to their royal master may be regarded as continuous blows to hasten the break-up of the Empire. They were always trying to become independent and their revolts made the treasury empty. The later Tughluqs could not control the forces of disruption, hence there arose petty kingdoms at various provincial centres.

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1. S. Lane-Poole, "The Medieval India under the Muhammadan Rule", pp. 146-47.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

The army system further aggravated the difficulties of the Tughluqs, which ultimately made them lose their hold on the Empire. The maintenance of a large standing army was necessary, for it was impossible without it to manage such a large empire. Muhammad bin Tughluq took a great interest in the well-being of the army and he himself superintended its affairs.<sup>1</sup> It obviously remained very efficient during the first half of his reign. But from 1342 A.D. onwards we find a perceptible decline of strength in the royal army. In the later parts of his reign dearth of capable generals became conspicuous and the standard of efficiency and military vigour became very low.<sup>2</sup> This was also in great measure due to the general decline of the administration caused by famines and the failure of the Sultān's cherished schemes. When Amīrān-i-Sadah revolted in the Deccan, the royal army cut a sorry figure, as the former inflicted a crushing defeat on 'Imad ul-Mulk, the Imperial General.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ishwarī Prasad, A History of the Qaraunah Turks, Vol.I, p.147.

2. Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., p.15.

3. Ishwarī Prasad, op.cit., Vol.I, p.292.

There were many other defeats in their military organisation. Firstly the bickering of the different ethnic groups comprising the army hampered its unity of action.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, having to rely upon the forces of other provinces which had to be summoned at a time of urgency was a great drawback. As Baranī and Ibn Battūta both attest, during the revolt of 'Ain ul-Mulk Multānī, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to call forces from Sāmāna Amroha, Koil (modern Aligarh) Baran (modern Blundshahr) and even from distant provinces such as Gujarāt.<sup>2</sup> Such an arrangement could never be suitable for controlling such a vast Empire. Apart from that, Muhammad bin Tughluq's successors, including the much applauded Fīrūz, sadly lacked the essential attributes of warrior kings. Thus the low standard of ability among the later Tughluqs, the decentralization of the army, and the disloyalty and corruption of the military leaders further added to the troubles of the Tughluq Sultanate.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the war

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1. Battūta, pp.81-82; Āghā Mehdi Husain, op.cit., p.288. There were Khurāsānīs, Turks and Persians as well as Indians in the army.

2. Baranī, p.298.

3. I.H. Qureshī, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.131. Fīrūz Shah's unwise leniency undermined the discipline of his army. K.S. Lal, "Twilight of the Sultanate", p.1.

of succession among the later Tughluqs broke the military forces into splinters, and favoured the rise of many petty leaders such as Bahādūr Nāhar Mewātī, Mallū Iqbal Khān and Muqqarab Khān.<sup>1</sup> In the time of Mahmūd, the last of the Tughluq monarchs, the frontiers also became insecure, which facilitated the remarkably rapid progress of Tīmūr, whose success was symptomatic of a decline that had already taken place. Provincial governors of Jaunpūr, Mālwah and Gujarāt were aware of the weakness of the central power and, finding the time opportune, declared independence one after another.

The deterioration of the ruling house was another factor responsible for bringing this dynasty to an end. At that time the strength of the government depended upon that of the monarch. Powerful rulers such as Iltutmish, Balban and 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī ruled successfully, but their weak successors faced treachery, assassination, intrigues and discord. The Tughluq dynasty reached its zenith under Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq. Then it rapidly degenerated. The absence of a definite law of succession was also a cause of trouble. Fīrūz's

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1. See details Chapter II, pp. 90, 100 & 101 Also C.H.I., Vol. III, pp. 193-205.

death was the signal for anarchy. The Muslim governors openly disregarded the authority of the central government. The rise of the Hindū chiefs in Hindustān and Rājputāna and of the Khokhars in the Panjāb further destroyed the prestige of the Dehli Sultanate.<sup>1</sup> Weak and incapable rulers such as Ghiyās ud-din Tughluq II, Abū Bakr, Muhammad Shāh, Sikandar, Mahmūd and Nusrat Shāh, who could not control the forces of anarchy, came to the throne in rapid succession.

In the course of a few years the kingdom broke up, and thus during the first half of the fifteenth century there was no longer a single predominant Muslim power in India. The sub-continent was divided into many states. In the south the kingdoms of Ma'bar (1334 A.D.) and Vijayānagar (1336 A.D.) had already emerged. The province of Sind achieved semi-independence under the Jāms in 1336 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Bengal slipped away in 1338-9 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> where 'Alā ud-dīn Shāh founded the Ilyās Shāhī rule. In 1347 A.D. the Deccan became the

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1. See details, C.H.I., Vol.III, pp. 192-94.

2. Muhammad Ma'sūm, Tarikh-i-Sind, B.M.M.S. add, 24091, pp. 51-53.

3. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.156.

territory of the Bahmanīs,<sup>1</sup> where kings of great valour and culture patronised art, architecture and literature. Its famous cities of Gulberga and Bidar remained the cradle of culture for centuries.<sup>2</sup> Khandesh was established in 1382 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Mālwah was founded at Dhār in 1392 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> and remained famous for centuries for its

1. Zafārul-Wālih - An Arabic History of Gujarāt, edited by Sir E. Densin Ross, Vol.III, p.178. 'Alī bin 'Aziz Ullah Tābāī, Burhān ul-Ma'āsir, B.M. Mss.09057, pp.20-21 - gives the date 3rd December, 1347 A.D. Firishta writes 13th August, 1347 A.D. Firishta is mistaken in writing that he was descended from Gangū, a Brahman. The author of Burhān ul-Ma'āsir, who is sometimes a better authority than Firishta, considered Hasan to be descended from Bahman bin Isfandiyār, king of Persia. He is also supported by other trustworthy authorities such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, the author of Tabaqāt, Rāzī, the author of Haft Iqlim, and A. Muhammad, the author of Zafar ul-Wālih, etc.
2. For details see C.H.I., Vol.III, pp.
3. Firishta, Vol.II, p.541. Its founder, Malik Rāja Farooqī, was originally one of the guards of Fīrūz Shāh. It became famous for its gold, silver and muslin. See Rushbrook Williams, L.F. An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, p.10.
4. Firishta, Vol.II, pp.460-61. The real name of the founder of this kingdom was Husain. He was entitled by Fīrūz as Dilāwar Khān. From his mother's side he was a descendant of Shihāb ud-dīn Ghori of Damascus and his grandfather was Ghor. He was appointed governor there by Muhammad Shāh in recognition of services which he had rendered to the former in his bad days. Realizing the weak position of the rulers of Dehli, he declared independence during the confusion following Tīmūr's invasion.

eminent philosophers and diviners as well as its physicians.<sup>1</sup> Its Muslim architecture combined beauty with strength and its textiles were exported even to Persia and Turkey.<sup>2</sup> In 1936, Gujarāt became an independent kingdom<sup>3</sup> where new cities such as Ahmadābād, Mustfābād and Mahmūdābād were adorned with in India.<sup>4</sup> Gujarāt also became famous for its architecture various new centres of Islamic learning.<sup>5</sup> But its various new centres of Islamic learning.<sup>5</sup> But nothing could match its ivory work, velvet, brocade, embroidery, tissue pattern work and sandalwood work,

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1. G. Yazdānī, Mandu (The City of Joy), pp.1749. Their hospitals were well arranged and had wards for all classes. The hospital was under the supervision of a renowned physician, Fazal Ullah.
  2. Raghbū Singh, Mālwa in Transitions, pp.5-7.
  3. Firishta, Vol.II, p.352. The founder was Zafar Khān, a converted Muslim and a nephew of Firūz's Rajpūt wife. See Firishta, Vol.II, pp.35-58. M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujarāt, Vol.I, pp.48-50.
  4. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period). Of all the provincial styles Gujarāt was pre-eminent for its surface carving, Hindu and Jain Patterns and panels and windows of pierced stones.
  5. S.M. Ikrām, Āb-i-Kousar, Vol.I, p.510.

which remained famous also during the reign of the great Mughuls.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, though Hindustān had become a mass of separate states during the fifteenth century, the history of these states is worthy of close study. Amongst these Jaunpūr, which declared its independence in 1394 A.D., stands pre-eminent.

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1. S.M. Ikrām, Āb-i-Kousar, Vol.I, p.510.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE RISE OF THE SULTANATE.

#### (A) Sultan ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar (1394-1399 A.D.).

The founder of the Sultanate of Jaunpūr, was a Khawāja-sarā (an eunuch) named Malik Sarwar.<sup>1</sup> The contemporary records are silent about his origin and do not throw any light upon his early career. Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, who was very close to him in time, and who finished his famous history known as "Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi" about 1398 A.D. is the earliest source to mention him. He is twice referred to in this text as a contemporary figure during the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. 'Afīf simply mentions his name,<sup>2</sup> and states that a direct account of his origins and end could be read in Manāqib-i-Sultān Muhammad, a book which is unfortunately not available now.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, he refers to him as the custodian

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.273. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, ff.59a. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.372a. Firishta, Vol.II, p.590, 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.97. Bindrabān, ff.23. Hasan, f.415b. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, incorrectly describes his name as Malik Fīrūz.

2. 'Afīf, pp. 148-9.

3. C.A. Storey, "Persian Literature", p.510.

of the Royal Jewellery under Fīrūz Shāh.<sup>1</sup> In the light of these statements, it seems that Malik Sarwar was a Khwāja-sarā (an eunuch) of common birth, had great talent and was loyal to Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who, having been impressed by his qualities and gifts, had chosen him for the post of custodian of the Royal Jewellery.<sup>2</sup> We know little about the early career of Malik Sarwar other than what 'Afīf has said. Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, the author of Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, is the next authority to refer to him. He finished his history of the Jamunā valley in 1438 A.D. He was a contemporary of the first three Sharqī rulers, especially of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, against whom according to the same author, he (Muhammad Behāmid) had also once fought as a military general of the Kālpī rulers at the battle of Iraj.<sup>3</sup> He mentions Malik Sarwar

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1. 'Afīf, op.cit.

2. H.R. Nevill, D.G.U.P., 'Jaunpur', writes that Malik Sarwar was presented by Sipah Salar Rajab (b/o Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq I) to his grandson Muhammad bin Tughluq. This fact we have not met with in contemporary records. This has misled many others. Sayyid Hasan Askari "Discussion Notes on the Sharqī Monarchy of Jaunpūr", Indian History Congress Proceedings of the twenty-third session", Aligarh, part I, 1960, p.157 is also mistaken in mentioning the same.

3. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.450b.

as Shahna-i-Shahr, i.e. governor <sup>1</sup> of the city (of Dehli) under Sultān Fīrūz (1351-88 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Hence we infer that Malik Sarwar, who was a man of loyal character, was promoted from the post of the custodian of the Royal Jewellery to the post of Shahna-i-Shahr of Dehli. We do not find any other details about his work and duties, or how he rendered service under Fīrūz Shāh.

Malik Sarwar's history is mostly associated with Sultān Fīrūz Shāh's son, Sultān Muhammad Shāh (1390-93 A.D.), for whose enthronement he planned and worked a great deal. For many reasons Sultān Fīrūz Shāh was much perturbed in the closing years of his reign. The death of his able son, Fath Khān (776/1374) who had been his last hope, had already dealt him a severe blow and now the conspiracy of his wazīr, Khawāja-i-Jahān, and the murder of his grandson, Zafar Khān (1387 A.D.) by the

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1. Shahna - used to be an officer of high rank in charge of any royal department. Like Shahna-i-Fīl - an officer in charge of the stables of the royal elephants. I have taken its meaning as high officer in charge of the city, having all the legal powers - a post which corresponds to the post of the modern governor, hence Shahna-i-Shahr, Governor of the City.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, op.cit., f.416b.

former further disturbed the peace of his mind.<sup>1</sup> Disappointed and feeling no longer capable of governing, he now selected as heir his younger son, Muhammad Khān, conferring upon him the title of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, and handed over administrative responsibilities to him.<sup>2</sup>

But Sultān Muhammad Shāh's behaviour towards the amīrs enraged them. They stood against him in the name of Sultān Fīrūz, and the prince was compelled to flee to the Sīrmūr Hills.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Fīrūz also deprived him of his royal title and promoted his grandson, Tughluq Shāh, to the same position.<sup>4</sup> Although Malik Sarwar was in a prominent position, as a governor of the city of Dehli at that time, our chroniclers mention him nowhere in this last phase of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh's reign.

Sultān Fīrūz died on 18 Ramzan 790/20 September,

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1. Firishta, Vol.I, p.269. He is the only chronicler who mentions Zafar Khān's murder by Khān-i-Jahān.
  2. Yahyā, pp.138-39. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.238. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.377. Firishta, op.cit., p.270.
  3. Yahyā, pp.138-39. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.238. Firishta, Vol.I, p.270. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.377.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. He was the sone of Fath Khān.

1388<sup>1</sup> and was succeeded by Sultān Tughluq Shāh.<sup>2</sup> But Sultān Tughluq Shāh (1388-89) was assassinated after about five months.<sup>3</sup> We do not find any reference to Malik Sarwar's position during his short reign. Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, who had very good first-hand knowledge of the early Sharqīs, states that when Sultān Tughluq Shāh succeeded to the throne, he brought about many changes in the positions of high officials, but Malik Sarwar does not figure among them.<sup>4</sup> Probably he remained in the same post as governor of Dehli during the five months' reign, as we find him again in the same post under the next ruler.

In the absence of contemporary sources for Malik Sarwar's career, with the exception of Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī for history of the period under Sultān Abū Bakr Shah, we have to depend on the accounts of the later historians such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, (the author of

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1. Yahyā, p.140. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.238. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.253. Firishta, Vol.I, p.270. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.377.
  2. Yahyā, p.143. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.242. Firishta, Vol.I, p.273. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.258. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.381-82
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.242.
  4. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, ¶.418a.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī). Although Firishta mentions him as Shahna-i-Fils (the superintendent in charge of the royal stables of elephants) under Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh,<sup>1</sup> Yahyā the earliest authority and the contemporary of the Sharqīs, and with whom Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad also agrees, mentions him as Shahna-i-Shahr under Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh. It is likely that a man who was Shahna-i-Shahr under Sultān Fīrūz and perhaps in the same post under the next ruler, Sultān Tughluq Shāh, remained as Shahna-i-Shahr under Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh.

When Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh succeeded to the throne the affairs of the capital were still far from satisfactory. Our sources are again very scanty here and do not throw much light upon Malik Sarwar's role, at this critical moment in the history of the Tughluq Sultanate, though they speak of him in the later period of this monarch. As later circumstances show, perhaps he was watchfully studying the political situation and watching for an opportune moment to bring back his master to the throne.

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1. Firishta, Vol.I, p.275; Yahyā, p.146; Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.244. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.383, who mainly copies Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt) only writes of him as Shahna and is apparently not clear at all about the nature of his post.

Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, the rightful claimant, was still hopeful of obtaining his lost throne, perhaps because of his loyal servant, Malik Sarwar, who at the centre was creating a favourable situation for him. The former was at this time encamped at Nagor Kot planning to conquer Dehli. When the "Hundred Amīrs of Sāmāna" (Centurions of Sāmāna) who were in favour of him, murdered Sultān Shāh Khushdil, governor of Sāmāna,<sup>1</sup> they called Sultān Muḥammad Shāh.<sup>2</sup> This was a great opportunity for Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, who quickly reached Sāmāna and proclaimed himself king in Rabī' I, 791/March 1389.<sup>3</sup> At this juncture some of the amīrs also left Dehli and joined him there.<sup>4</sup> Thus encouraged and strengthened, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh now marched upon the capital, and when he reached near Dehli some more amīrs and cavalry also joined him and the strength of his army rose to fifty

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1. The town of Sāmāna lies in the State of Patiala, East Panjab, (30.9W and 76.15E) seventeen miles S.W. of the town of Patiala.

2. Yahyā, p.145. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.243.

3. Yahyā, p.145. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.243.

4. Yahyā, p.146. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.243-44. Firishta, Vol.I, p.274.

thousand.<sup>1</sup> But his star did not favour him and, having been defeated by Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh, he went to Jalesar.<sup>2</sup> Again we do not find any reference to Malik Sarwar in the accounts of these incidents. But as the sequence of events shows, he was the person who could do much, as the governor of the city of Dehli, to help his patron, Sultān Muhammad Shāh, and persuade amīrs and others in favour of his cause.

Sultān Muhammad Shāh did not lose heart, and continued the struggle for the throne. In the meantime the circumstances at Dehli further favoured his chances. Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh's negligence towards the affairs of government annoyed his courtiers and made them rise against him.<sup>3</sup>

As our chroniclers agree, at this juncture Malik Sarwar assembled high nobles and provincial

1. Yahyā, p.146. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.243.

2. Yahyā, p.146. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.243-44. Yahyā incorrectly writes it as 'Jatsir'. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f. 421b also incorrectly writes it as 'Jatsir'. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.260, also incorrectly writes it as 'Chatōr'. This place, Jalesar, is situated on the banks of the Jamūna, 38 miles between Isan and Sirsa, east of Mathura in Etah, Distt. U.P. It has only been rightly mentioned by the author of Tabaqāt.

3. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.421b.



governors, along with fifty thousand troops and with rapid marches joined Sultān Muhammad Shāh at Jalesar.<sup>1</sup> The latter was so pleased with his help and loyalty that he bestowed upon him the post of wizārat along with the grand title of Khwāja-i-Jahān.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Muhammad Shāh also conferred upon Malik Sarwar's allies high sounding titles. He honoured Malik Nasīr ul-Mulk as "Khizr Khān", Khwās ul-Mulk as "Khwās Khān", and Saif ul-Mulk as "Saif Khān".<sup>3</sup> He now marched upon Dehli a second time in the month of Sha'bān 791/August, 1389, but at

1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, pp.421 and 422. Yahyā, p.146. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.244. Firishta, Vol.I, p.275. Tāhir, f.603b. 'A.Baqī, Vol.I, p.283.
2. Yahyā, p.146. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.244. Tāhir, p.603. 'A. Baqī, Vol.I, p.283. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.421b - mentions this incident, yet ignores many facts. He remembers him here as 'Azam Humāyūn.
3. Yahyā, p.147. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.244. Firishta, Vol.I, p.275. But they differ with each other in some respect. Firishta does not mention about Saif Khān. He agrees with Yahyā and the author of Tabaqāt, about Khwās ul-Mulk's title Khwās Khān. But he is wrong to add with Nasīr ul-Mulk Khizr Khān the title to Amīr ul-'umrā as well. They also differ with each other on Rāī Bhīr and his title, Rāī i-Rāyān. Yahyā is silent about his title Rāī-i-Rāyān. Firishta incorrectly mentions his name as Rāī Sarwar and is also wrong to write that he was given at this stage the post of wizārat.

the battle which took place at Kundlī,<sup>1</sup> he was again defeated and this shattered his hopes.<sup>2</sup> He went back with Malik Sarwar and other allies and again encamped at Jalesar.

Encouraged by his repeated victories, Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh now decided to suppress his rival altogether. He collected his army and started towards Jalesar, where Sultān Muhammad Shāh was encamped. When Sultan Muhammad heard this he took up some of his nobles and his army and, leaving the rest at Jalesar, started towards Dehlī by another route.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh hearing of his rival's move, at once returned to Dehli. Sultān Muhammad Shāh found the situation unfavourable again and went back to Jalesar.<sup>4</sup>

1. Kundlī lies 46 miles north-east of Dehli on the Sahāranpūr Railway line. This place is probably modern Kandhla. See Jarrett Ā'in, Vol.II, p.287.
2. Yahyā, p.147. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.245. Firishta, op.cit., 'A.Baqī, Vol.I, p.384 - though mentions this battle, yet does not mention the name of the place where the actual battle took place. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.422b is not clear here. He rather confuses this battle with the next (third) battle.
3. Yahyā, p.148. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.245.
4. Yahyā, p.148. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.245. Firishta, Vol.I, p.275.

Sultān Muḥammad Shāh now decided to seek help from Amīr Tīmūr. He made Malik Sarwar, his loyal friend, governor of the Eastern districts, and also conferred upon him the high-sounding title of Sultān ush-Sharq; then leaving prince Humāyūn under his tutorship he took the road to Samarqand.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile, as our sources say, Mīr Hājib Sultānī became hostile to Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh. He and other Fīrūz Shāhī Amīrs sent secret letters to Sultān Muḥammad Shāh and invited him to accept the throne.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh, finding the circumstances so unfavourable, left Dehli to seek help from Bahādūr Nāhar Mewātī.<sup>3</sup> This further encouraged

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi, f.422a - is the only authority who throws light on this fact, whereas others who are the later authorities neither mention this fact nor agree with Muḥammad Behāmid Khānī's (contemporary of the Sharqīs) statement about the conferment of the title (Sultān ush-Sharq) on Malik Sarwar at this stage. See further information, pp. 1-8.
  2. Yahyā, p.149. Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi, p.423. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.246. Firishta, p.276. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.385.
  3. Bahādūr Nāhar Mewātī was the founder of the ruling family of Khānzādahs of Mewāt. The political confusion that followed the death of Sultān Fīrūz and the recurring civil war provided ample opportunity to this Mewātī chief to play the part of king maker. He first helped Sultān Tughluq Shāh and then Sultān Abū Bakr Shāh against Muḥammad Shāh. He also helped the rival candidate of the throne of Dehli Nusrat Shāh against Sultān Mahmūd Shāh and was put in charge of the fortress of Dehli during the

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Sultān Muhammad Shāh, who on receipt of a message from the Dehli amīrs, abandoned his journey to Samargand, marched upon the capital and ascended the throne on 19th Ramazan 792/31st August, 1390.

Malik Sarwar, who had struggled so sincerely for Muhammad Shāh, was at this time replaced by Mīr Hājib Sultānī, who had provided Sultān Muhammad Shāh with the golden opportunity. Under the new cognomen of Islām Khān (Mīr Hājib Sultānī became wazīr and Malik Sarwar was appointed his nāib.<sup>2</sup> But Malik Sarwar in spite of his demotion must have remained loyal to Sultān Muhammad Shāh, for later circumstances testify to this fact.

Now the way was altogether clear for Sultān Muhammad Shāh, who managed the affairs of the government on the advice of his wise and most loyal nāib wazīr, Malik

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political struggle, till the invasion of Tīmūr, who honoured him with great courtesy. See B.S. Mathur, Role of Bahādur Nāhar Mewātī in the Politics of Later Tughluqs Period., J.I.H., April, 1960, p.43.

1. Yahyā, p.150. Tabaqat, Vol.I, p.246. 'A.Baqt, Vol.I, p.385
2. Yahyā, p.150. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.425a. Tabaqat, Vol.I, p.246. Tāhir, f.604a. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.261. Firishta, Vol.I, p.276.

Sarwar. Yet certain parts of his Empire were out of his control. He had hardly secured peace in the capital when in 794/1392, news arrived that the Rāīs of Dalmaū and the Hindūs of Kanauj were in rebellion.<sup>1</sup> The wazīr Islām Khān was sent to quell the rebellion, but his efforts did not meet with success. In the same year, i.e. 794/1392 Sultān Muhammad Shāh personally went to suppress the rebels in that part of the country, leaving the capital under Islām Khān, his wazīr.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Muhammad Shāh successfully suppressed the rebels and for future security laid the foundations of a fort at Jalesar and named it Muhammadābād. He was still at Jalesar and superintending the building of the fort, when in Rajab 794/June 1392, he received a letter of the naīb wazīr, Malik Sarwar, reporting that Islām Khān was intending to revolt and was planning to go to Multān.<sup>3</sup> Sultān

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1. Yahyā, p.151. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Firishta, Vol.I, p.277. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.261.

2. Yahyā, p.152. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.261. Firishta, Vol.I, p.276. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.387.

3. Yahyā, pp.152-3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Firishta, Vol.I, p.276. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.387.

Muhammad Shāh believed this news and hurried to Dehli (Rajab 795/June 1392) with the army of Jalesar. He held a court, summoned Islām Khān and demanded an explanation from him. Though Islām Khān denied the charges levelled against him, after an unsatisfactory investigation Islām Khān was executed on the evidence of only one witness, Jajū.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Muhammad Shāh was so pleased with Malik Sarwar's loyalty that he again promoted him to the post of wazīr <sup>2</sup> (1392 A.D.). Khawāja-Jahān Malik Sarwar from now on remained in the same post, till Sultān Muhammad Shāh's death, and served him with great sincerity. At the end of 1393 A.D. Sultān Muhammad Shāh went to superintend the erection of the building of the fort of Muhammadābād at Jalesar, leaving the whole business of the Empire in the hands of Khawāja-

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1. Yahyā, p.153. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Firishta, Vol.I, p.276. Yahyā is wrong to call him Jajar and also Firishta incorrectly calls him Gajū. Yahyā further designates Jajū as son of the brother of Islām Khān. Jajū was a Hindū, so he is mistaken in calling him Islām Khān's relative. He also mentions his nephew, who was also with him at the time of bearing false testimony.
  2. Yahyā, p.153. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Firishta, Vol.I, p.276. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.262. Tāhir, f.603a. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.385.

i-Jahān Malik Sarwar. But Sultān Muhammad Shāh's days were now numbered. He fell ill and died there on the 17th of Rabī'I, 796/20 January, 1394.<sup>1</sup> His reign lasted six years and seven months.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Muhammad Shāh's second son, Humāyūn Khān, came to the throne (19th Rabī'I 796/22 January, 1394) and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh. He confirmed all the high officers in posts which they had held in his father's time.<sup>3</sup> Khawāja-i-Jahān Malik Sarwar, a loyal courtier and tutor of Sikandar Shāh, was not only confirmed in his post of wizārat, but was given complete control of the affairs of the Sultanate.<sup>4</sup> He enjoyed great pomp and glory during Sultān Sikandar Shāh's short reign. The latter died in 5th Jasmādī I, 796/8th March, 1394,<sup>5</sup> leaving all the Sultanate in the hands

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1. Yahyā, p.154. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.249. Firishta, Vol.I, p.278. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.263.
  2. Yahyā, pp.154-55.
  3. Yahyā, p.155.
  4. Yahyā, p.155. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.249, Firishta, Vol.I, p.278
  5. Yahyā, p.155. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.249. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.389. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.263 - is mistaken in writing the year of his death 795 A.H. Firishta, Vol.I, p.278 - also incorrectly describes his total rule as one month and fifteen days, whereas others mention one month and sixteen days.

of his noble wazīr.

Now Mahmūd, the youngest son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, was the strongest candidate for the throne. Yahyā and Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad state that the high nobles and governors of the Empire such as Ghālīb Khān, governor of Sāmāna, Rāī Kamāl ud-dīn Mu'īn Mubārak Khān Hulājūn, and Khwās Khān, governor of Anderi and Karnāl, were not in favour of his succession. They left the city and wanted to go back to their jāgīrs, without taking leave of Mahmūd. When Khawāja-i-Jahān Malik Sarwar received this news, he persuaded them to go back to the city, giving them high hopes of favour, and made them pay homage to their new king. Thus Malik Sarwar's loyalty and love helped the new Sultān, who ascended the throne after fifteen days' struggle, on the 20th Jamādī I, 796/ 23 March, 1394.<sup>1</sup> He assumed the title of Sultān Nāsir ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh. He was so impressed by the loyalty and services of Malik Sarwar that he confirmed him in his position as wazīr.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd also conferred

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1. Yahyā, p.156. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.250. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.389. Firishta, Vol.I, p.275. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.264 mentions a wrong date of his succession to the throne in 795/1392-93.

2. Yahyā, p.156. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.278-9. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.250.



grand titles and high posts upon other companions of Malik Sarwar. He honoured Muqarrab Khān with the title of Muqarrab ul-Mulk and nominated him heir to the throne.<sup>1</sup> Presumably he had no family of his own. 'Abdur Rashīd Sultānī was made Barbek (Amīr Hajīb) with the title of Sā'ādat Khān.<sup>2</sup> Malik Sarang received the title of Sarang Khān and was also given the governorship of Dipālpur.<sup>3</sup> Malik Daulatyār Dabīr was given the title of Daulat Khān and the post of 'Arizul-Mulk (Paymaster General).<sup>4</sup>

Though in this way Sultān Mahmūd had secured the position at the centre, with the help of his wazīr, Khwāja-i-Jahān Malik Sarwar, the affairs of the kingdom

- 1Yahyā, op.cit., Firishta, Vol.I, p.279. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta also adds some more information about him. He writes that he was also made Wakīl us-Sultānī as well as Amīr ul-'Umra.
2. Yahyā, p.156. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.279. Yahyā is incorrect saying that he was given the governorship of Dipālpur.
3. Yahyā, p.156. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.279. Yahyā is incorrect in saying that he was given the governorship of Dipālpur.
4. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.250. Firishta, Vol.I, p.279. Yahyā incorrectly writes that he was given the post of 'Imadul-Mulk. Actually this was the post of 'Imād ul-Mulk, formerly 'Ariz ul-Mulk, i.e. Paymaster General or Bakhshī under Mughuls.

at this stage were in a deplorable condition. The great nobles were only concerned with their own interests. Political factions in the capital had disturbed the peace of the Empire for a long time. Sultān Mahmūd had not yet strengthened his position on the throne, when news arrived that chaotic conditions once more prevailed in Hindustān, Jaunpūr and the country around it.<sup>1</sup> In these circumstances Sultān Mahmūd thought it wise to appoint Malik Sarwar governor of that province, in spite of the fact that his services were much needed at the centre. Sultān Mahmūd at the time of his appointment confirmed his title of Sultān ush-Sharq, which had once been bestowed upon him by his patron, the late Sultān Muhammad.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Yahyā, p.156. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.248. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.264. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.372a. Firishta, Vol.I, p.278. Tāhir, f.604a. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.389.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.422-6 and 450-51. Most of our chroniclers confuse this issue. Some of them mention that he was entitled on this occasion "Malik ush-Sharq", a title far below his deserts, as he had already been entitled "Sultān ush-Sharq" by Sultān Mahmūd's father, Sultān Muhammad. Secondly, a person such as Malik Sarwar who had been wazīr of the Tughluq Empire in its last phase most of the time and had at the same time been a loyal servant to the crown, could not be degraded by Sultān Mahmūd. Moreover, the title of Malik ush-Sharq was bestowed by Malik Sarwar even upon his adopted son, Malik Qaranfal, during his lifetime. Amongst the later Sharqīs Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had conferred this title even on one of his generals, (Malik ush-Sharq) Malik Maqbūl.

He also gave him twenty elephants and a large army, which were urgently needed to quell the rebellion.<sup>1</sup> This happened in the month of Rajab 796/May, 1394.

Thus Malik Sarwar entered on the second phase of his life. The province entrusted to him was rife with trouble, and on the way to Jaunpūr, he had to suppress rebellions at Koil,<sup>2</sup> Etāwah, Khor,<sup>3</sup> Kampila<sup>4</sup> and the country around Kanauj.<sup>5</sup> The Rāīs and the Zamindārs had stopped their payments. Hindū Chiefs had destroyed and looted the forts of his jurisdiction and were ravaging the country.<sup>6</sup> There was lawlessness everywhere

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1. Yahyā, p.156. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, op.cit. Tāhir, f.689b. Hādī, f.74a. The last two are silent about the elephants and the army.

2. Koil or Kol (Modern Alīgarh).

3. Khor. This town was founded about the beginning of the 13th century by a Rathor chief. Today it is nothing more than a mound called the Kot or fort of the Khor Rājas. The modern town of Shamsābād was built upon the ruins of Khor by Shams ud-dīn Iletmish. It lies eighteen miles N.W. of the district town of Farrukhābād. Dist. Gaz. Farrukhābād, p.255.

4. Kampīl or Kampla is a village 28 miles N.W. of Fathgarh in the district of Farrukhābād. Dist. Gaz. Farrukhābād.

5. Yahyā, pp.156-7.

6. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, f.604a. Others do not go into details and simply write that the revolt of the Zamindārs had given rise to disturbances throughout the kingdom.

and the lives of the ordinary people were not at all safe. Under such circumstances the first thing Sultān ush-Sharq did was to entitle his adopted son, Malik Mubārak, as Malik ush-Sharq and put him in charge of all the affairs of the capital, while he himself took the army and marched out, subjugating rebels in his territory.<sup>1</sup> Our sources do not provide us with information on the date of his march, the number of his soldiers, the time he took to perform this task and the way his plans proceeded. All we know is that he attacked the rebels of Dalmū,<sup>2</sup> Kara,<sup>3</sup> Awadh,<sup>4</sup> Etāwah,<sup>5</sup> Kanauj,<sup>6</sup> Sandhīlā,<sup>7</sup> and Bahrāich<sup>8</sup> and

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1. Yahyā, p.157. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.10.
  2. Dalmū: Yahyā, p.157. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, ff.53. Both mention this place whereas others are silent. This place lies on the banks of the Ganges at 26.3 N and 81.3 E. The town of Dalmū is the headquarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Rāī Bareilly district, U.P. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.
  3. Kara: Yahyā, op.cit. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, op.cit., mention this place whereas others are silent. This place lies in Sirathū Tahsīl Allahābād District, U.P., 41 miles from the city of Allahābād.
  4. Awadh: Yahyā, op.cit. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, op.cit., U.P. Dist Gaz. Vol. XXIII, pp.257-51 and 301-306.
  5. Etāwah: Tabaqāt, Vol. III, p.273; Nūr-ul-Haqq, f.372a - mentions it, but others are silent about this town.
  6. Kanauj: Yahyā, op.cit. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, ff.59. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.15. Badā'unī, vol. I, p.264.
  7. Sandhīlā: Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol. II, p.59. Nūr ul Haqq, op.cit. Yahyā incorrectly writes it Sandhīah.
  8. Bahrāich: Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Nūr ul Haqq, op.cit.

suppressed them completely. Having pacified that part of his country, he turned his attention to the country of Bihār and Tirhut, in the latter part of the year of 1394 A.D. Maharāja Har Rāj and Maharaja Kumār Kajrāj of South Bihār had since that time been in revolt and had destroyed the peace of the country. Fighting took place at Ghausghāt. Maharāja Har Rāj was defeated and killed, and the city of Bhojpūr was sacked. Mahārāja Kumār Gajrāj and Deva Rāj could not face the strong forces of Sultān ush-Sharq and took to flight. Sultān ush-Sharq subjugated the whole country and established law and order everywhere. The vanquished Ujjainis continued their guerrilla warfare from the hills and jungles for years, but till the death of Sultān ush-Sharq in 1399 A.D. they had no success.<sup>1</sup> Sultān ush-Sharq, thus completing his foremost duty, returned to his capital with great pomp and glory.

Our chroniclers tell us that the Rāīs of Jājnagar<sup>2</sup> (Orissa) and the king of Lakhnauti had stopped

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1. R.R. Diwakar, Bihār Through the Ages, p.393.

2. Jājnagar of the Muslim historians of the 14th century was an area roughly corresponding to the Orissa of later times.

paying their annual tribute and elephants, which they used to send to Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Dehli.<sup>1</sup> Sultān ush-Sharq who had remained occupied in warfare since his arrival at Jaunpūr, now appointed his adopted son, Malik Mubārak, to accomplish the task of subduing them.<sup>2</sup> The latter marched upon them with a large army and, quickly suppressing them, forced them to pay regularly the annual tribute and elephants, which were due to the rulers of Dehli.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān ush-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān had now acquired great power and was almost independent in his command. On the other hand the Sultanate of Dehli was in eclipse.

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1. Yahyā, p.157. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.251 and Vol.III, p.273. Badā'uni, Vol.I, p.264. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.53a. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.372a. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.390. Hasan, f.416a.
  2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.10.
  3. Yahyā, p.157. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.251 and Vol.III, p.273. Badā'uni, Vol.I, p.264. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.53a. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.372a. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.390. Hasan, f.416a. Bindrāban, f.203b. Hasan, f.416a - the latter does not include in his account the Rāīs of Jājnagar. He is also incorrect in describing the rulers of Lakhnautī and Bengal. Bengal or Lakhnautī means the same. Lakhnautī used to be the capital of Bengal in those days. The author of Jaunpūr Nāma, though, mentions Bengal in his account, yet he is not clear about the Rāīs of Jājnagar. He simply states that the Rājās of South and North Bihār were defeated by Malik Mubārak and were made to give rich presents as tribute.

Mallū Iqbāl Khān had gained great power in the capital and Sultān Mahmūd was just a puppet in his hands. All the provincial governors were enjoying some measure of independence. In the meantime news arrived that Amīr Tīmūr of Samarqand, having conquered Panjāb, was now approaching Dehli. Sultān Mahmūd, whose throne was already unstable because of the presence of a rival candidate, Nusrat Shāh, found circumstances unfavourable to him, and left Dehli to seek refuge, first with Zafar Khān of Gujarāt, and then with Dilāwar Khān of Mālwah. Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar who was at that time at height of his power, and was observing the affairs of Dehli very keenly, decided that this was the propitious time to declare his independence. He gave himself the title of Atābek-ī-Azam <sup>1</sup> and also struck coins and had <sup>the</sup> Khutba recited in his name.<sup>2</sup> We have no specimen of his coins, however, whereas the coins of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Sharqī rulers have been discovered

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.10. He is the only authority who mentions his new title Atābek-ī-Azam.
  2. Ibid. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.426 and 427. Tāhir, f.689a. Ghulām Hasan, f.6a. Firishta, Vol.II, p.591. Hādī, f.694a. Firishta, both incorrectly remark that he was planning to strike coins and recite Khutba on his behalf, when he suddenly died.

and identified.<sup>1</sup> But the matter is still hopeful, because many Sharqī coins which have been found are yet to be deciphered.<sup>2</sup>

Atābek i-A'zam Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, soon afterwards also conquered the territory of Koil,<sup>3</sup>

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1. S.A. Shere, Kings of Jaunpūr Dynasty and their Coinage, JBORS, Vol.XXVIII, Patna, March, 1942, pp.285-95. H.M. Whittell, Numastic supplement, J.A.S.B.N.S., XVIII, pp. 10-15. Shams ud-dīn Ahmad Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (The Sultans of Dehli and their Contemporaries). A supplement to Vol.II, p.115. C.J. Rodgers, Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Muslim Sultans of Dehli and their Contemporaries, Calcutta, 1893, p.105. S.L. Poole, Catalogue of the Indian coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States), London, 1885, p. 89. Also see appendix "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultans" p.
  2. Sayyid Hasan Askarī "Discursive Notes on the Sharqī Monarchy of Jaunpūr", Indian History Congress Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Session, Aligarh, 1960, part I, pp.154-162, writes that the collection of coins and those in Patna Museum have not yet been deciphered. He also says that in Bihār there are many copper coins of the Sharqīs in private collections. Etāwah, Badā'ūn, Aligarh, Sultānpur, Allahābād have inscriptions dating back to the Sharqīs. These inscriptions have not yet been deciphered and published, which, if done, may cast light on this point.
  3. Koil (Modern Aligarh): Yahyā, pp.156-157. Tabaqāt, Vol. III, p.273. Nūr ul Haqq, f.372a. Firishta, Vol.II, p. 590. Hasan, f.415b. Hādī, f.94a. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.10.



Sambhal,<sup>1</sup> and Raprī<sup>2</sup> and thus extended his kingdom quite close to Dehli.

What were the boundaries of his jurisdiction, and how big was the kingdom over which he ruled independently for more than five years? Sultān ush-Sharq ruled over the richest parts of Hindustān. All our sources agree that his boundary in the north started from Koil (modern Alīgarh), including all the rich districts of what is to-day known as Uttar Pradesh, and stretching north-east to the district of Tirhut in North Bihār, and touched the boundary of Nepāl and the Himālayan Tarāī. On the west side not only the area with Kanauj as its centre and including its adjacent territory, was under him, but also the city of Bhojpur, the capital of

1. Sambhal: Yahyā, op.cit., incorrectly writes it "Kambal". All our chroniclers except Yahyā are silent about this town under Sultān ush-Sharq. Sambhal is the headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Moradābād. Dist. Gaz. U.P. Vol.VII, pp.253-270.
2. Raprī: Tabaqāt, op.cit. Nūr ul-Haqq, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Hasan, op.cit. Hādī, op.cit. Bindrābān, f.203b. 'A.Bāqī, vol.I, p.97. Raprī, now a small village in Shikohābād Pargana Mainpūrī Dist. U.P. 26.59 N. and 78.32 E. on the left bank of the Jamunā. When Tīmūr invaded Dehli, affairs there became more chaotic. Sultān ush-Sharq found the circumstances favourable, captured those towns and added them to his kingdom.

Mahārāja Har Rāj and Mahārāja Kumār Gajrāj, and the area up to the boundary of Ujjain were under him. In other words, all the territories of Baghel Khand and Bundel Khand, including the Bhopāl State, were included in his kingdom. The whole territory of North and South Bihār was also included, and the Rāīs of Jājnagar and the rulers of Bengal were his feudatories.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar was in the prime of his power when he suddenly died. The date of his death is controversial. Yahyā places the event in Rabī'I 802/November, 1399.<sup>2</sup> Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad says that his rule lasted for sixteen years.<sup>3</sup> He has been followed by Nūr ul-Haqq and Hādī.<sup>4</sup> They are all obviously incorrect as their statement does not fit in with the fact that dated coins of the third ruler Ibrāhīm Shāh were issued in the year A.H. 103/1400. Firishta, followed by Khwāja 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī, give us the

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1. See A Map of the Sharqī Kingdom, Appendix, p. 587

2. Yahyā, p. 159.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol. III, p. 237.

4. Nūr ul-Haqq, f. 372a - is altogether wrong to mention the date 810/1407. Hādī, f. 94a.

total reign of Sultān ush-Sharq as six years and some months, but they are also incorrect,<sup>1</sup> since a reign of this length would allow no time at all for the second ruler, Mubarak Shāh. According to Yahyā, Sultān ush-Sharq had marched towards Jaunpūr in Rajab 796/May 1394, and died in Rabī'I, 802/November 1399, as has been mentioned above. Thus Sultān ush-Sharq ruled over his kingdom for about five years and six months altogether.

Sultān ush-Sharq was a man of integrity and a lover of peace and justice, according to Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, a very close judge of Sharqī traditions.<sup>2</sup> His short reign was full of peace and prosperity.<sup>3</sup> When he was posted to Jaunpūr, the whole country was practically in revolt. He suppressed the rebels,<sup>4</sup> completely restored the forts<sup>5</sup> and garrisoned them with troops under capable commanders.<sup>6</sup> His dignity and grandeur appealed so much to the <sup>4</sup>Zumindars as to convert them into regular

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1. Firishta, Vol.II, p.591. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.97-98.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.427a.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.273.

4. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.389. Sujān Rāī, f.198a.

5. Yahyā, p.157.

6. Firishta, Vol.III, p.591.

payers of revenue.<sup>1</sup>

He was also talented, and a great lover of art and architecture. When he arrived at Jaunpūr, he found it in ruins. There was not even an official residence. He converted Yagī Mandal, a building standing amid the ruins of the buildings of Rāja Vijāya chandra, into his royal palace and, after furnishing and remodelling it, he renamed it Badī 'Manzil.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the incomplete fort of the city, once founded by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, was also completed.<sup>3</sup> He also renamed the city Dār ul-Surūr, (The Abode of Bliss).<sup>4</sup>

The many beautiful buildings in it justified the name of the city and testified to Sultān Malik Sarwar's cultural taste. Of these buildings we find hardly any traces to-day. The city Dār ul-Surūr later developed into a cultural centre attracting men of letters, saints

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1. Nūr ul-Haqq, p.372.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

3. 'Afīf, p.149. He founded the city in 772/1372; Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

4. Ibid.

and sufīs from far and wide.<sup>1</sup> Rich traditions of art, culture and literature grew, flourished and persisted. 250 years later, Shāh Jahān, the great Mughul Emperor, connoisseur of art and beauty, praised the city,<sup>2</sup> calling it Shirāz-i-Hind, and Dār ul-'Ilm.

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1. See for details, Chapters VII and VIII.

2. Ghulam Hasan, f.4b.

(B) Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī (1399-1401 A.D.)

When Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar died in Rabī' I 802/November, 1399, his adopted son, Malik Mubārak Qaranfal, with the consent of the Sharqī Amīrs ascended the throne and assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh.<sup>1</sup>

Our chroniclers do not throw any light upon his real name, and even his descent is the subject of much controversy. Yahyā, Badā'ūnī, Nūr ul-Haqq (the author of Tārīkh-i-Haqqī), Tāhīr Hasan and Bindrāban are mistaken in taking his nickname, Malik Qaranfal, as his real name.<sup>2</sup> Firishta is altogether wrong in calling him Malik Wāsil and so is Ghulām Husain, who incorrectly writes Qaranfal as his father's name.<sup>3</sup> The authors of Tabaqāt and Jaunpūr Nāma are the only two authorities who seem to be right in giving his original name Malik Mubārak or Mubārak Khān as well as his nickname, Qaranfal.<sup>4</sup> In the same

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274. Firishta, Vol.II, p.591.

2. Yahyā, p.169. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.37b. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.372b. Tāhīr, f.689b. Hasan, f.416a. Bindrāban, f.203b.

3. Firishta, Vol.I, p.289. Ghulām Hasan, f.7-8.

4. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.16.

way his descent as described by Yahyā, the contemporary historian (1434 A.D.), is a controversial issue. Yahyā says that he was a nephew or cousin of Khizr Khān, son of Malik Sulaimān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty of Dehli and thus claims him to be a Sayyid.<sup>1</sup> Ghulām Hasan incorrectly describes him as a Dabkish slave of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.<sup>2</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig and R.C.

Majumdar are also of the opinion that the Sharqī rulers were of Negroid blood and that Mubārak Shāh was an African or Abyssinian slave.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps they have taken this indication from the word 'Qaranfal' (clove). Actually 'Qaranfal' in Arabic classical poetry was an appreciative term of beauty, and it was probably given to him by his adoptive father as a pet name because of his swarthy complexion. Further to this, the author of Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, Badā'ūnī, and Nismat Ullah writes that the mother as well as the wife of Sultān Husain Sharqī were princesses of the Royal Sayyid family of Dehli.<sup>4</sup> Also his son, Jalāl

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1. Yahyā, pp. 181-182.

2. Ghulām Hasan, f.7b.

3. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.259. R.C. Majumdar, The Dehli Sultanate, p.187.

4. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.42b. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272. Ni'mat Ullah.

Khān, as has been narrated by Khair ud-dīn Muhammad, was married to the daughter of Nasīb Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> In the light of these facts it is quite clear that he was a Sayyid, as the Royal Sayyid Families of Dehli and Bengal would not have given their daughters in marriage to the descendants of the Abyssinian slave.

As regards his early career all our chroniclers are silent except one, Khair ud-dīn Muhammad. Even he gives us only very brief information about Sultān Mubārak's role previous to his accession to the throne. He writes that Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar had entitled Mubārak Malik ush-Sharq during his lifetime and had placed him in charge of the affairs of the central government.<sup>2</sup> Khair ud-dīn further writes that Mubārak was once also sent/<sup>on</sup>an expedition against the ruler of Bengal and the Rāīs of northern and southern Bihār. These he successfully subdued and made them pay tribute.<sup>3</sup> Nothing more is known about his life before his accession

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.15-16.

3. Ibid.



to the throne.

At this time Sultān Mahmūd Shāh of Dehli had fled to Gujarāt owing to the invasion of Tīmūr. Mallū Iqbāl in his absence had defeated the rival candidate to the throne, Nusrat Shāh, and had become the master of Dehli.<sup>1</sup> He was now planning the recovery of Jaunpūr after Sultān ush-Sharq's death. When he heard of Sultān Mubārak Shāh's accession as the second independent ruler of that territory, he could not bear this news and decided to march upon him. In the month of Jamādī I, 803/January-February, 1400, he set out, accompanied by Shams Khān, governor of Bayāna and Mubārak Khān and Bahadūr Nāhar Mewātī.<sup>2</sup> When they reached the banks

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274.

2. Ibid. Yahyā, p.169. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272 - he is the only authority who calls Mubārak Khān son of Bahadūr Nāhar. Yahyā, p.169 writes the date of this happening Jamādī II, 803/December-January, 1400-1401, whereas Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.257 and also Firishta, Vol.I, p.289 writes Jamādī I, 803/January-February, 1400-1401. I accept the latter, as it fits in with the rest of the circumstances.

of the Āib-i-Siāh <sup>1</sup> near Patiālī, <sup>2</sup> Rāī Sīr <sup>3</sup> and all the Zaimindhārs of that territory who were in close alliance with Mubārak Shāh came out to oppose them. <sup>4</sup>

The second day a battle took place in which the allies of the Sharqīs were routed. They took flight and were pursued by Mallū Iqbāl's forces up to Etāwah. Thus Mallū Iqbāl now reached Kanauj, near the banks of the Ganges, and encamped there. <sup>5</sup> In the meanwhile Sultān Mubārak Shāh took with him a large army consisting of Rajpūts, Afghāns, Mughuls and Tajīks, and with rapid marches advanced to oppose the enemy, <sup>6</sup> until he reached

1. Yahyā, p.169. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.257. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272.

2. Patiālī and Āib-i-Siāh. Yahyā is correct in calling Patiālī a town situated on the banks of the Āib-i-Siāh, i.e. Kālī Nadī. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, the author of Tabaqāt, incorrectly calls it Baitali and he is further mistaken in locating it on the banks of the river Ganges. Actually Āib-i-Siāh, known also as Kālī Nadī, is situated between the Jamunā and the Ganges. See Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272 and also Hunḍer, Imperial G. Vol.III, p.327.

3. Rāī Sīr, Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.257. Yahyā, p.169 incorrectly describes it as Rāī Sabīr.

4. Yahyā, p.169. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272.

5. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.257. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272.

6. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274.

the bank opposite to that occupied by Mallū Iqbāl's forces. Both armies were now facing each other, but neither had the courage to cross the river, so after two months of weary waiting they came to terms and returned to their respective capitals.<sup>1</sup>

Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad also mentions Mallū Iqbāl's second attack upon Mubārak without giving any details.<sup>2</sup> Firishta and Khair ud-dīn Muhammad throw some further light on this fact. They write that Sultān Mubārak Shāh had just reached Jaunpūr when news arrived that Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, having come back from Gujarāt and Mālwah, was now accompanying Mallū Iqbāl, and both were marching upon Jaunpūr. Sultān Mubārak Shāh <sup>he</sup> marched out to oppose the enemy, but, while on his way, /suddenly fell and died.<sup>3</sup>

We do not know the exact date of this event. The year of his death has been given by Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad,

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1. Yahyā, p.169. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.272. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592. Badā'ūnī is silent about this opposition which remained for two months.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274.

3. Firishta, Vol.II, p.591. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.17.

Tāhir, Firishta and Hasan, as 804/1401 A.D., which seems to be incorrect, as it does not correspond with the rest of his circumstances.<sup>1</sup> Badā'ūnī mentions the year of his death as 803/1401 A.D., which seems to be correct, as it corresponds with the year of the succession of the next Sharqī ruler, Ibrāhīm, whose coins of the same year have come to light.<sup>2</sup> Placing Mallū Iqbāl's attack upon him in Jamādī II 803/1400, a date given by Yahyā as well as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, it seems that Sultān Mubārak Shāh died probably sometime in the middle or later part of that year.<sup>3</sup> Thus his total reign lasted for one year and a few months.<sup>4</sup> The chroniclers mention that he struck coins, but no coins bearing his name, or that of his father, has so far come to light.

It is clear from the foregoing account that

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.274. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592. Hasan, f.416b. Tāhir, f.605a.
  2. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.272-73.
  3. Yahyā, p.169. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.273.
  4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.273. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, p.59. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.272b. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592. Hasan, f.416a. Hādī, f.94a. Tāhir, f.605a incorrectly describes his total reign as lasting for two years.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh's short reign was free from any grave disturbance.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, a contemporary historian, remarked that he ruled his subjects with great justice, love and affection.

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, p.427a.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE SULTANATE IN ITS FULL GLORY.

##### Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī's brother, Ibrāhīm Sharqī, now succeeded to the throne with the consent of the Sharqī Amīrs and assumed the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh.<sup>1</sup> Sujān Rāī mentions him as the adopted son of Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar. Most of our chronicles agree that he was the younger brother of Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī.<sup>2</sup> His date of accession is also controversial. Yahyā who has been copied by others such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmed, Firishta, Tāhir, Hasan, Khwāja 'Abdul Bāqī, Hādī and the authors of Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, and Jaunpūr Nāma, gives 804/1401.<sup>3</sup> Yahyā points out that this even coincided with the joint attack upon Jaunpūr of Mallū Iqbāl

1. Yahyā, p.170. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.275. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, Nūr ul-Haqq, f.373a. Tāhir, f.690a. Hasan, f.417b. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592. The latter writes that he assumed the title of Shāh Ibrāhīm Shāh. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.427a. He gives him a very high-sounding title, i.e. Shams ud-Duniyā wad-dīn Abūl-Fath Ibrāhīm Shāh.
2. Sujān Rāī, f.202a. The only exception is Bāqī, Vol.I, p. 99, who incorrectly, describes him as the elder brother of the former.
3. Yahyā, p.171. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.274. Badā'ūnī, f.56b. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.59a. Firishta, Vol.II, p.591. Tāhir, f.605b, Hasan, f.416a. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.397, Jaunpūr Nāma p.10.

and Sultān Mahmūd Shāh of Delhi, in which the latter finally made his escape at Kanauj.<sup>1</sup> But his earliest coin is dated 803/1400-1401 and this positively fixes his year of accession.<sup>2</sup> This date incidentally is also supported by Badā'ūnī's evidence.<sup>3</sup> It seems that he succeeded to the throne some time in the middle or the latter part of that year.

We do not know much about his early career. Yahyā, Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, and Badā'ūnī write of him as a military general in a battle near Etāwah in 831/1426-27, on behalf of him (Ibrāhīm) against Sultān Mubāarak Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi.<sup>4</sup> Khair-ud-dīn Muhammad throws some light upon his other very small role, during the reign of Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar. He narrates that when Mubāarak Shāh during his adoptive father's reign went out to suppress some rebellion, he left Ibrāhīm in

1. Yahyā, p.176.

2. S.L. Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States), p.94. Also see Appendix "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultān"s, pp. 543-57 and Ibrāhīm's coin No.3 dated 803 AH on plate No. XIX, p. 551

3. Badā'ūnī, f.60a.

4. Yahyā, p.207. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.277-78. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.427a, is mistaken in mentioning him to have won the title of Mukhtas Khān, owing to some good deed before ascending the throne. In fact, it was the name of a brother of his.

charge of the affairs of the capital.<sup>1</sup>

The first important incident which took place in the next year of his reign in 804/1401 was the joint attack of Mallū Iqbāl and Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, which has already been mentioned in the reign of Sultan Mubārak Shāh. Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh had not fully established his position in Jaunpūr. But he marched out to oppose the enemy. Both the armies encamped near Kēnauj and skirmishes took place for a few days. Distrustful of Mallū Iqbāl, owing to his past behaviour, Sultān Mahmūd did not feel sure of his position and therefore, one night, before the commencement of war, on the pretext of going on a hunting excursion he went to Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh, but the latter treated him with great discourtesy.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd felt insulted and took his way to Kēnauj which was then under the Sharqīs. He expelled from there Shāhzādah Bateh Khān Harvī, the Sharqī governor of Kēnauj, and took

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammudī, f.434b, but he is silent about Mahmūd's seeking refuge with Ibrāhīm. According to him, Sultān Mahmūd, on the pretext of hunting, straight away went to Kēnauj. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.258, does not mention about his pretext of hunting. He simply writes that he went to Sultān Ibrāhīm and when the latter showed his discourtesy, he left for Kēnauj.



possession of the city.<sup>1</sup> He received a warm welcome from all the grandees and nobles and the people of the city who showed him great love and respect. Thus left alone, Mallū Iqbāl beat a retreat to Dehli. Sultān Ibrāhīm, too, now returned to his capital.<sup>2</sup>

The next year Sultān Ibrāhīm turned his attention towards the neighbouring vassal state of Tirhut.<sup>3</sup> Tirhut, as earlier mentioned, had been subdued by Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar in 1394 A.D., and since that time its ruler, Ganesvara, used to send a regular tribute to Jaunpūr. In 1402 A.D. Malik Arslān being ambitious attacked and killed Ganesvara and captured Tirhut. Ganesvara's successor, Kīrtī Singh, struggled for his right and also sought help from Dehli and Bengal. Being disappointed, he at last turned to Ibrāhīm Shāh for help. The latter sent a large force under the command of one of his generals,

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.258. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.434b, Hasan, f.416b, is mistaken in writing Shahzādah Fath Khān's name as Amīrzādah Purqavī. Firishta, Vol.I, p.289 - is silent about the name of the governor of Kēnaúj.
  2. Yahyā, p.171. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.273. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p. 258.
  3. Tirhut is an ancient territory comprising the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champāran and a strip of Nepal terram Bengal Dist. Gaz. Darbhanga, p.157-58.

Malik Muhammad Ghani, Qazi Khwaja Makhdum and Munohar Raja also joined him. The Sharqi army with rapid marches crossed the Gandak. Malik Arsalan came out to oppose them. At the battle which took place on the field of Raipur, Arsalan was defeated and killed. Kirti Singh was confirmed as the Raja of Tirhut, and his accession was celebrated in the presence of Sultan Ibrahim.<sup>1</sup>

Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was very contented at Kanauj, had within a few years much strengthened his position, and was thus becoming a threat not only to the future peace and prosperity of the Sharqi Kingdom but also to the authority of Mallu Iqbal at Dehli. The latter decided to crush him and, taking a strong force in 807/1404-1405, besieged Kanauj. Sultan Mahmud's army fought loyally and courageously. Mallu Iqbal, failing to make an impression, retreated to Dehli.<sup>2</sup> Sultan Ibrahim, considering Mahmud's growing power at Kanauj, a threat to his security decided to retake it. He besieged the fort, but failing to reduce it, returned to Jaunpur, after patching up a

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1. Vidya Pati Thakura "Kirti Latā", ed. Babu Ram Saksena. Allahabad, 1929. p.14-18. He gives a detailed description of the grandeur of the royal procession of Sultan Ibrahim, which paraded through the streets of the capital.
  2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.434b. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.276.

peace with Mahmūd.<sup>1</sup>

In the next year on 19th Jamādī, I, 808, 12th November, 1405, the powerful de-facto ruler of Dehli, Mallū Iqbāl, was killed in a battle by Khizr Khān Sayyid, the governor of Multān.<sup>2</sup> This cleared Sultān Mahmūd's way to Dehli and he was at once summoned from Kenauj by Daulat Khān, Ikhtiyār Khān and other amirs, Leaving Kenauj in the hands of Malik Mahmūd Tarmatī, he proceeded to Dehli, where in the following month in Jamādī, II, 808, November-December, 1405, he once again sat on the throne of his great ancestors.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm was determined to reconquer Kenauj, his former territory, and was waiting for a favourable opportunity. So in Jamādī, I, 809,

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, op.cit. - is the only authority to mention Sultān Ibrāhīm's attack upon Kenauj while Sultān Mahmūd was there. It happened probably in the same year 1404 A.D., as this corresponds with the circumstances and as Sultān Mahmūd was called to Dehli the following year.
  2. Yahyā, p.176. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.260. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.274. Mallū Iqbāl was killed near Ajodhan, i.e. Pakpattan Shrif in the modern district of Montgomery, W. Punjab. Badā'ūnī incorrectly mentions the month as Jamādī, II.
  3. Yahyā, p.174. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.261. Badā'ūnī incorrectly writes Malik Mahmūd Tarmatī's name as Malik Mahmūd Tarbatī.

October-November, 1406, he advanced upon it. Learning of this, Sultān Mahmūd marched out from Dehli to oppose Sultān Ibrāhīm. With the Ganges between them, the two armies faced each other for a few days. The engagement which followed proved indecisive. Peace was concluded. After this both went back to their respective capitals.<sup>1</sup>

Having arrived at Dehli, Sultān Mahmūd sent back his allied officers to their respective Jāgīrs. Sultān Ibrāhīm, finding that the situation was now favourable to him, soon returned to the seige of Kēnauj. Malik Mahmūd Tarmatī who was there on behalf of Sultān Mahmūd, boldly defended the fort for about four months. Failing however to get any reinforcement from Dehli, he begged Sultān Ibrāhīm for peace and surrendered Kēnauj.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm, leaving there a strong garrison under the supervision of Governor Ikhtiyār Khān, came back to Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup>

This success encouraged him to march upon Dehli. In Jamādī, I, 810, October, 1407, he assembled his forces

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1. Yahyā, p.175. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.260, Firishta, Vol.I, p.291.
  2. Yahyā, p.175. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.261. Firishta, Vol.I, p.290. Tāhir, f.65 as well as f.690a.
  3. Yahyā, p.175. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.261, and Vol.III, p.277. Firishta, Vol.I, p.290. A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.399.

and started his march. While he was on his way some amirs of Dehli such as Tātār Khān, son of Sarang Khān, Nusrat Khān Gurgandāz and Malik Marhabā, being attracted by his strong position left their Sultān and joined him.<sup>1</sup> He first attacked Sambhal<sup>2</sup> which, like Kenauj, was another stronghold in his way. Asad Khān Lodī, the governor of the place on behalf of Dehli, could not stand against him and after two days' fighting abandoned the place and fled. Sultān Ibrāhīm having appointed there Tātār Khān continued his march towards Dehli.<sup>3</sup> He was also able to conquer the town of Baran and appointed there Malik Marhabā.<sup>4</sup> When he reached the banks of the Jamunā near Dehli his

1. Yahyā, p.176. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.275b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.261. The latter in Vol.III, p.277, is mistaken in writing Gurgandāz as Karkandāz. In the same way in one place, Vol.I, p.261, he correctly writes Malik Marhabā but in the other, Vol.III, p.277, is mistaken in writing "Malik Marjān". Yahyā and the author of Tabaqāt, both agree that he was a slave of Mallū Iqbāl Khān.
3. Yahyā, p.176. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.277.
2. Sambhal lies twenty-two miles west of Muradābād.
4. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.277. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.275-76. Yahyā is silent about it. Baran, i.e. Balandshahr. Hasan, f.417a - is mistaken in writing the name of Malik Marhabā as Malik Zīā Dād.

good fortune deserted him. News arrived that Sultān Muzaffar Gujarātī, having conquered Dhār, the capital of Mālwah, and arrested Alp Khān, i.e. Sultān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwah, was approaching Jaunpūr. Sultān Ibrāhīm at once marched back to Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup>

His retreat gave a chance to the monarch of Dehli to retake his lost territories. Collecting his forces Sultān Mahmūd first attacked Baran (Bulandshahr), in the mouth of Ziq a' <sup>d</sup>Deh of the aforesaid year. Instead of giving battle, the Sharqī governor of the fort, Malik Marhbā, fearing defeat and shame, as he had already betrayed Sultān Mahmūd on an earlier occasion, slew himself.<sup>2</sup> Thus Baran fell into the hands of Sultān Mahmūd,<sup>3</sup> who now marched ahead to recover Sambhal. The governor

1. Yahyā, p.176. Hasan, f.417a. Yahyā incorrectly writes the name of Alp Khān as Alb Khān. He mentions Sultān Muzaffar Gujarātī's coming over to Jaunpūr, but Nizām ud-din (Tabaqāt) is silent about this fact. Hasan writes that Sultān Ibrāhīm retreated from Jamunā on hearing of the arrival of Sultān Mahmūd (of Dehli) but actually he retreated, owing to the fear of Muzaffar Gujarātī, Sujān Rāi, f.202b and f.203a.

2. Yahyā, p.176. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.262. Firishta, Vol.I, p.291. Badā'unī, Vol.I, pp.275-76.

3. Yahyā, p.176. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.262. Firishta, Vol.I, p.291.

of the fort Tātār Khān, lost heart and without putting up any resistance fled to Kenauj. The Sultān entrusted it to Asad Khān Lodī and returned to Delhi where some other problems were awaiting him.<sup>1</sup>

For several years Sultān Ibrāhīm remained in his capital and spent most of his time improving his administration. To strengthen the security of his empire, he built many forts in different parts of the country, where strong garrisons were stationed under capable commanders. Jaunpūr the capital, was decorated with beautiful buildings, notable among them being the magnificent palace known as "Chehal Satūn Mohal",<sup>2</sup> and the beautiful tomb of Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar. In the same period was completed the exquisite "Atāla Mosque", whose foundation had been laid by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

The chronic instability in neighbouring territories offered too tempting a field for Sultān Ibrāhīm's

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1. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ferishta, op.cit. Badā'unī, op.cit.

2. "Distt G. Jaunpūr", p.238.

3. A. Fuhrer, p.38. This mosque was completed in 1408 A.D.

ambition. During all these years the Sultanate of Dehli had been passing through many catastrophic changes. Many nobles of Dehli had transferred their allegiance to Daulat Khān Lodī or Khizr Khān Sayyid, both of whom had eyes on the throne of Dehli. Sultān Mahmūd Shāh's dying efforts could only with great difficulty save the throne.<sup>1</sup> He died in Rajab 815/October, 1412.<sup>2</sup> Daulat Khān against whom Khizr Khān was still contesting, assumed power. This rapid change at Dehli alarmed Sultān Ibrāhīm who was keenly looking forward to a development favourable to his cousin, Khizr Khān. Daulat Khān with a view to strengthening his position further, attacked many parts of Doāb and received tribute from their Rāīs and Amirs.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm who was keenly observing all the changes at Dehli was looking for an opportunity

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1. Yahyā, pp.177-80. Khizr Khān first in 811/1408 besieged the citadel of Firūzabād in 811/1408 and for the second time in 814/1411, taking along with him Malik Mubāraz and Malik Idrīs, the governor of Rohtak, attacked the city of Sirī.

2. Yahyā, pp.180-181.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.2. He had subdued Mubāarak Khān Badā'ūnī. Rāī Narsingh and other Rāīs of the neighbouring territories as well.



to fish in troubled waters, but the State of Muḥmūdābād/  
 Kālpī <sup>1</sup> was another stronghold in his way. The State of  
 Muḥmūdābād had been founded by Muḥmūd Khān (1390-1411  
 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It was situated between the kingdoms of Mālwah  
 and Jaunpūr, and because of that it remained a bone of con-  
 tention for more than half a century among the powers of  
 Jaunpūr, Mālwah and Dehli. The tyrannical attitude of  
 its ruler, Qōdir Shāh (1411-32), towards his subjects  
 annoyed Sultān Ibrāhīm Shārqī, and he became eager to sup-  
 press him. In the latter half of 1411 A.D. Qōdir Shāh,  
 at the instigation of Rāī Sīr, he attacked Bhongāon and  
 devastated the adjoining territory. This provided a pre-  
 text for Sultān Ibrāhīm to attack him. The latter,  
 leaving the matter of Dehli aside for the present, marched  
 upon Qōdir Shāh's capital (Muharam 816/April, 1414).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kālpī is in Jalāun District, A.U.P. Lat. 26° 8' N and Long. 79° 45' E. It lies on the ravines of the Jamuna, twenty-two miles from the town of Jalāun. The old Kālpī state, however, included many parganās of the present Kānpur-District. Imp. Gaz. U.P. Distr. Gaz. vol. XXV, p.175.
  2. A.H. Nizāmi. J.I.H. (p.32), 1954. 'Birāmdēo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora', p.146.
  3. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, f.449b. He is mistaken in mentioning the name of this place as Behto Kāno. This place is Bhongāon ten miles near the town of Mainpūrī Jarrett, Aīn, Vol.II, p.195.

Our chroniclers except Muhammad Behāmid Khānī mention this event casually without giving any details.<sup>1</sup> According to Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, Sultān Ibrāhīm taking with him a large army including elephants advanced upon Mahmūdābād. Qōdir Shāh who was still busy devastating the territory of Bhongāon received a message from his brother, Fath Khān, to the effect that Sultān Ibrāhīm was advancing upon the country, and the people of the city of Mahmūdābād were becoming very restless and frightened and needed his help. Qōdir Shāh ordered his scattered forces to assemble and proceed quickly to the capital. Rāī Sīr, the renowned warrior, also accompanied him. When he reached Mahmūdābād his nobles joined him to oppose the Sharqī Sultān.<sup>2</sup> The next day Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī was able to besiege the city. For some days fighting and killing took place, but as no conclusion was reached Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Yahyā, p.175. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.264. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, f.283b. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.292-93. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.449b and f.550a, but he is silent about the date.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.449b - but he is wrong to write Rāī Sīr as Rāī Sabīr.

3. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, op.cit., mentions that suddenly some of the Sharqī elephants became ill. This, however, does not seem an adequate reason for Sultān Ibrāhīm's inability to take the city.

Sultān Ibrāhīm had not forgotten his malice against Qōdir Shāh. He again with a large cavalry and many elephants marched upon Mahmūdābād.<sup>1</sup> Birāmdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora who bore a grudge against Mahmūdābād because of Mahmūd Khān's sack of Ghora Arail and Paryāz, also joined Sultān Ibrāhīm this time.<sup>2</sup> The Sharqī forces with rapid marches fell upon Mahoba and Ruth, which were captured within a short time and were handed over to Jalāl Khān bin Dā'ūd Khān, brother of Malik Zāhir ud-dīn, as its governor.<sup>3</sup> Soon after this Shāhpur was captured and put in the charge of Hasan Khān bin Maskīn, one of Sultān Ibrāhīm's nobles.<sup>4</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm further sent a large force under his own minister and muster-master, Malik ush-Sharq Maqbūl, along with Birāmdeo to besiege the strong fortress of Erach (Iraj).<sup>5</sup> When the operations commenced Birāmdeo was posted at the river gate.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.450a.

2. A.H. Nizāmī, J.I.H. (p.32), 1954 ('Birāmdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora', p.146.

3. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.450b.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid - writes it as Irij, at present known as Erach. Also see A.H. Nizāmī, J.I.H. (p.32), 1954, 'Birāmdeo Baghela Muqaddam of Ghora', p.146.

6. IBID.

Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, author of Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, who was at that time governor of the said fortress, fought against them. A contested battle took place in which a large number of people were killed. After a great struggle the fortress was conquered and with it also fell the towns of Bhandīr and Jehtrah. Malik ush Sharq Maqbūl gave the governorship of Erach (Iraj) to Ja'far bīn Dāu'ūd and Bhandīr was handed over to Khizr Ayūb.<sup>1</sup> The Sharqī general now marching along the banks of the Jamunā proceeded to join Sultān Ibrāhīm who was already encamped a few miles away. The united forces advanced upon the village of Shaikhpur where Qādir Shāh opposed them.<sup>2</sup> The Sharqī force used catapults and naphtha engines. Many enemy officers and soldiers and civilians were killed. Fearing the horrors of the battle, the Muslim population of the city sent appeals for mercy to Sultān Ibrāhīm. Qādir Shāh and his nobles, finding their situation untenable also sued for peace and thus managed to save their capital by accepting the vassalage of Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> The Sultān agreed to their proposal, and through his minister,

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.451a.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.451.

3. Ibid.

Malik ush-Sharq Maqbul, sent to Qādir Shāh, the latter's minister, Daulat Khān bin Junaid Khān, Nizām Khān and all the high and low nobles rich presents worthy of their status.<sup>1</sup> In turn Nizām Khān and all the other Mahmūdābādī nobles came to pay homage to Sultān Ibrāhīm.<sup>2</sup> Khutba was ordered to be read in his name at Mahmūdābād as well as in other parts of the dominion and coins were also ordered to be struck in his name.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh now asked Nizām Khān, one of the chief nobles of Qādir Shāh, to accompany him on his return march to Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> But after Nizām Khān's return from Jaunpūr, Qādir Shāh assembled a large army and recaptured Mahoba and Ruth and from there Jalāl Khān was forced to flee.<sup>5</sup> Qādir Shāh deputed Daulat Khān bin Junaid Khān to reduce Erach (Iraj) but the Sharqī governor, Ja'far Dā'ūd, was strong enough to defeat him.<sup>6</sup> But two

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.451.

2. Ibid.

3. Tārīkh i-Muhammadi, ff.452.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

years and four months later, he was murdered and the fortress fell to Mahmūdābād.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year (1414 A.D.) Sultān Ibrāhīm was informed by Shaikh Nūr Qutb ud-'ālam, the celebrated Pandua saint, about the tyranny of Rāja Ganesh over the Muslims of Bengāl.<sup>2</sup> Rāja Ganesh, the de facto ruler of Bengāl, had attained complete ascendancy over Saif-ud-dīn Hamzah Shāh (1405-10) and his son, Shams ud-dīn (1410-14).<sup>3</sup> He

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, ff.452.
  2. Ghulām Husain "Riāz us-Sulātīn", Calcutta, 1890, Vol.III, quotes Shaikh Nūr Qutb ud-'ālam's letter.
  3. The Rāja Ganesh affair has been ignored by some of our historians, such as Ishwarī Prasād (p.317) and Jadū Nāth Sarkar (History of Bengāl II, pp.25-29). On the other hand, the chroniclers who have mentioned the event such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.265), Firishta, (Vol.II, p.578), Ghulām Husain Salīm (Riāz us-Salātīn, Calcutta, 1890, pp.109-114) and 'Abdur Rehman Chishtī (Mirātul Asrar, B.N. or p.216, f.423b) are mistaken in writing that he succeeded to the throne of Bengāl after Shams ud-dīn (1339-59) and ruled for seven years. This neither corresponds with the rule of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī nor with that of Bengālī rulers contemporary with him. The fact is that Rāja Ganesh, who is spoken of by many as a big Zīmīndār of Dinājpur, attained complete ascendancy over Saif ud-dīn Hamzah Shāh (1410-12 A.D.), and the latter was a mere puppet in his hands. When Saif ud-dīn died in 1412 A.D., he was succeeded by his adopted son, Shihāb ud-dīn Bāyazīd (1413-14 A.D.) who also died after a short and inglorious reign. During this period Ganesh oppressed the Muslims of Bengāl so much that they began to flee - a fact which is quite clear from the correspondence of saints such as Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'ālam (letter quoted in Riāz us-sulātīn, p.111), and Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī (Mukhtābāt i-Ashrafi B.M. or p.267, letter No. 45 8692-94), who were his contemporaries.

was bent upon extirpating Muslim rule in Bengāl and was also hostile to the leading Muslim mystics and divines. His senseless persecution and assassination of the Muslims has been mentioned in Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul'ālam's letters addressed to his contemporary saint, Sayyid Jahangīr Samnānī, as well as Sultān Ibrāhīm.<sup>1</sup> The Shaikh asked Sultān Ibrāhīm to come to Bengāl to save the Muslims. Sultān Ibrāhīm marched with a well appointed force upon Bengāl. Qazī Shihāb ud-dīn was also in his train. On his way to Bengāl the Sultān had to overcome the opposition of Shiv Singh of Tirhut.<sup>2</sup> The latter had succeeded to the throne of Tirhut after the death of the childless Kīrtī Singh. He too was oppressing the Muslims of Tirhut at the instigation of Rāja Ganesh.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm's forces attacked and defeated the Rāja who fled. But he was pursued by the Sharqī forces and was finally captured. His stronghold, Lahra, was also taken. Finally his father, Deva Singh, the dispossessed Rāja of Tirhut, was

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1. Sayyid Ashraf Jahangīr Samnānī, Makhtūbāt-i Ashrafī, BMMS, OR267, ff.92-94 (Letter No.45), Riāzus Salatin, p.111.
  2. Sayyid Hasan Askarī, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 23rd session, 1960, part I, pp.154-162.
  3. Sayyid Hasan Askarī, B.P.P. (67) 1948, p.37.

restored to the throne on the condition of allegiance and loyalty.<sup>1</sup> This was an important victory; from this time onward Tirhut remained subject to the Jaunpūr kingdom for about a hundred years.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm erected a mosque there as well as a residence for Makhdūm Shāh Sultān Husain, the Khālifa of Makhdūm 'Ālā-ul-Haqq of Pandua, who was then a renowned mystic of Tirhut.<sup>3</sup> He then continued his march towards Bengāl. Rāja Ganesh, learning of this, became so frightened that he at once made his peace with Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'ālam. He sought his forgiveness and requested him to persuade Sultān Ibrāhīm to withdraw his army. Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'ālam acceded to his request on condition that Rāja Ganesh's younger son would be converted to Islām and that the Rāja would desist in future from oppressing the people of Bengāl. The Rāja's son, Jadu, was converted to Islām and, assuming the title of Jalāl ud-dīn, ascended the throne. Sultān Ibrāhīm at the request of Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'ālam returned to Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Sayyid Hasan Askerī, B.P.P., 1948, p.37.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Riāz us-sulātīn, p.112-114.



Next Sultān Ibrāhīm turned his attention towards Ujjain. Here Maharāja Har had been defeated and killed, and Kumār Gajsāj and Deva Rāj put to flight by Sultān ush-Sharq, 1394 A.D. The vanquished Ujjainies had continued their irregular warfare from the hills and jungles and after the death of Sultān ush-Sharq Gajrāj had re-occupied Karoor. In 1416 A.D. the rebellious attitude of Jagdeo, Gajrāj's younger brother, again compelled the Sharqī Sultān to lead an expedition against Ujjain. Sultān Ibrāhīm's forces fell upon Karoor and re-occupied it, and both Gajrāj and his brother were again sent into the wilderness. Their successor Sangrām Dev continued irregular warfare till the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm, but could not succeed in gaining the upper hand.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm now enjoyed unbroken peace for ten years and during this period he employed his leisure in the encouragement of art and architecture. Our chroniclers pay very high tribute for his benevolent attitude towards great scholars, divines and wise men of his age. Many of these had come to Jaunpūr from western Hindustān where Tīmūr's invasion had left a blaze of

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1. R.R. Diwaker, Bihār Through the Ages, pp.393-94.

anarchy and confusion. Indeed, Jaunpūr had now earned the appellation of Dār ul-Amān, i.e. place of refuge. Firishta, Hādī<sup>1</sup> and others write that not only the scholars of great reputation from different parts of Hindustān, but also from foreign lands such as Irān found refuge and patronage at his court and made it as colourful as that of the courts of Irān. They further write that these learned scholars and artists came in such numbers that Dār ul-Amān Jaunpūr became a second Dehli and better than Isfahān.<sup>2</sup> Because of their work as described by the author of "Mirāt-i-Jahān Numā", Jaunpur became the most flourishing literary centre of the early fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Its court was adorned with such luminaries as Hāji Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī, Maulānā Ilahdād, Khwāja Abū'l-Fath, Shaikh Muhammad 'Isā Chishtī, Qāzī Nāsir ud-dīn and many others, who wrote works on theology and law and organised the study of Arabic and Persian in that

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1. Tabāqāt, Vol.III, p.275. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592.

2. Hādī, ff.94-95. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592.

3. Mirāt-i-Jahān Numā, f.312b.

period.<sup>1</sup> Most learned among them was Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn, who was one of the greatest scholars of the age. He was entitled Malik ul-'Ulāmā by Sultān Ibrāhīm and was honoured with the post of a Qāzī ul-Qaz̤āt of Jaunpūr. The Sultān built for him a special madrara, as well as an imposing residence by the side of the great mosque, and also provided him with a silver chair in the Assembly.<sup>2</sup> Abū'l-Faḡl mentions him as a man famous for his wisdom and learning. He wrote many books and treatises, such as Kitābī-Arshād, Sharh-ī-Hindī, Usūl-ī-Ibrāhīm Shāhī, Rasālā Manaqib-ī-Sa'dāt, Sharh-ī-Kāfiya, Bāhr-ī-Mawwāj and others, several of which were dedicated to Sultān Ibrāhīm.<sup>3</sup> According to Yahyā and others Sultān Ibrāhīm's literary and spiritual activities won him so high a fame

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.170. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.275. Firishta, Vol.II, pp.598, 595. Hādī, f.94b and f.95a. Firishta writes that Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn originally came from Ghaznī. He was brought up and educated at Daulatābād in the Deccan and also lived in Delhi. Sayyid 'Usmān, originally from Shirāz, went to Dehli and later on took refuge at Jaunpūr. Likewise many others came to Jaunpūr. For their detailed study, see Chapter VII and VIII.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.275. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595. Nūr al-Haqq, f.373a.

3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Nūr al-Haqq, op.cit.

that none of the kings of his age can be compared with him.<sup>1</sup> The long interval of peace enabled him to construct magnificent mosques such as Chahār Unglī Masjid and Jhangīrī Masjid which stand to this day.<sup>2</sup>

But peace did not last long as the peculiar circumstances at Mahmūdābād (Kālpī) and Dehli again demanded his attention. Qādīr Shāh's oppressive behaviour towards his subjects compelled the Sharqī Sultān to quell him. He marched upon Mahmūdābād in the early part of the year 831/1427. Qādīr Shāh became frightened and wrote to Dehli where now Sultān Mubārath Shāh, son of Sayyid Khizr Khān, was in power and with whom he had a nominal alliance.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Mubārak Shāh was at that time on his way to pursue Muhammad Khān, the dispossessed governor of Bayāna, who had already left for the court of

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1. Yahyā, p.207. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.277. Firishta, Vol.I, p.301. Bada'ūnī, f.60a.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.12. Ibid, pp.85-86. For details see Chapter VI on Architecture, pp.

3. Yahyā, p.207. Firishta, Vol.II, p.592, gives the date as Muharum 831/October-November, 1427. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.277 incorrectly writes the year of this happening as 830/1426. Bada'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.182-83, agrees with Yahyā in mentioning the year, but he is silent about the month.

Sultān Ibrāhīm to seek help. While Sultān Mubārak Shāh was on his way he received news from Qādir Shāh that the Sharqī Sultān had marched upon him with a well-equipped army.<sup>1</sup> Yahyā, the court historian of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, is the only authority to give a detailed account of this happening. Later annalists such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, Firishta, Badā'ūnī, Hasan, and Tāhir have followed Yahyā's account but have omitted certain relevant points.<sup>2</sup> Now Yahyā writes that Sultān Mubārak Shāh kept the matter of Bayāna in abeyance, and advanced to meet his Sharqī

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1. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol.I, p.301, and Vol.II, pp.594-5.

2. Yahyā, p.207. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.277. Firishta, Vol.I, p.301. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.292-93. Hasan, ff.417. Tāhir, f.606a, as well as f.690a. Hasan and Tāhir just give a passing reference to this matter and at the same time are mistaken in placing this incident in the reign of Sayyid Khizr Khān Sayyid. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt) like them is mistaken in mentioning this event in one place in the reign of Khizr Khān Sayyid and in the other in the reign of Sultān Mubārak Shāh. Firishta is mistaken in writing that Muhammad Khān was responsible for persuading Sultān Ibrāhīm to come to Bayāna. Actually when Sultān Mubārak Shāh heard that the latter was going to reduce his nominal vassal, Qādir Shāh ruler of Mahmūdābād, he advanced towards Bayāna to stop Sultān Ibrāhīm's attack upon Qādir Shāh.

opponent. At this stage the Sharqī troops had already attacked and captured Bhongāon and were now advancing towards Badā'ūn.<sup>1</sup> Learning of Sultān Mubārak Shāh's proceedings, he deputed a large force under Mukhtas Khān, his brother, to attack the Dehli army. The latter with rapid marches reached Etāwah.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Mubārak Shāh, crossing the river of Jamuna, devastated the village of Jartaulī,<sup>3</sup> and went on to attack Atraulī.<sup>4</sup> From the latter place he deputed his general, Malik uḡh-Sharq Mahmūd Hasan, to oppose Mukhtas Khān, the Sharqī general. But the latter, finding his opponent strong, returned

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1. Yahyā, p.207. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.277-78. Firishta, Vol.I, p.301. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.292-93. Yahyā incorrectly writes Bhongāon as "Bhukānūs" and the author of Tabaqāt as well as Firishta as Bhū Kānū. This place is in the Mainpūrī district, 9½ miles east. The town of Mainpūrī at the junction of the Āgrā grand trunk roads. Hunter, Imp.Gaz, Vol.II, p.403. Badā'ūn is about fifty miles from Bhongāon.
  2. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.277-78. Firishta, Vol.I, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, op.cit.
  3. Jartaulī lies twenty-eight miles N.E. of Alīgarh in the road from Alīgarh to Muradabad. Aratauli sixteen miles N.E. of Alīgarh. Hunter Imp. Gaz. Vol.I, p.180. Jarret Ain, Vol.II, p.180.
  4. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.277. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, op.cit. Yahyā incorrectly writes Jartōlī in one place as Chaitoli and in the other as Atraulī.

and rejoined Sultān Ibrāhīm.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm decided finally to attack the Nehli forces. Keeping to the bank of Āb ī-Sīāh (Kālī Nadi) Sultān Ibrāhīm came near Burhānābād, one of the dependancies of Etāwah.<sup>2</sup> In the meanwhile Sultān Mubārat Shāh who was at that time encamped at Atraulī advanced upon him and both the armies met near Mālī Kotah where fighting took place (Jamēdī, I 831/February-March, 1427).<sup>3</sup> The Sharqī Sultān, finding himself outnumbered, left the battlefield and turned towards Rāprī. From there he crossed <sup>the</sup> Jamuna and reached the bank of the river Kaithar where he encamped. Sultān Mubārath Shāh pursued him and crossing the river Jamunā at Chandwar,<sup>4</sup> also encamped at a distance of about five miles from him. Skirmishes between the two armies went on for twenty days, the Sharqīs losing horses, cattle and prisoners in large

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1. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.278. Firishta, op.cit. Firishta incorrectly mentions Mukhtas Khān as Mukhlis Khān Muhammad Behāmid also incorrectly mentions this as the name or title of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.
  2. Yahyā, p.208. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.278. Firishta, Vol.I, p.301. Badā'unī, Vol.I, pp.292-93.
  3. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'unī, op.cit.
  4. Chandwar, an ancient village on the left bank of the Jamuna in the present Agra Dist, U.P. It lies three miles west of Fāzabād.

numbers to the enemy.<sup>1</sup> At last Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī attacked the Dehli army. Sultān Mubārak Shāh finding his position weak and dangerous at once ordered his nobles, Mahmūd Hasan, Fath Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffar, Zirak Khān, Islām Khān, Malik Chaman, the grandson of Khān ī-Jahān, Malik Kālū, the superintendent of the elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfa and Maqbūl Khānī, to oppose Sultān Ibrāhīm unitedly.<sup>2</sup> Both the armies fought till evening but the approach of darkness forced them to return to their respective tents, Jamādī II 831/24 March, 1428. As both armies had suffered heavy losses, the two Sultāns left the field next day.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm came back to Jaunpūr, but Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded towards Gawāliar and from there to Bayāna, where Mahmūd Khān Anhādī who had in vain sought help from Sultān Ibrāhīm was attacked and defeated, but on his request was pardoned. To guard the

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1. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, f.60a. Yahyā and Badā'ūnī write twenty-two days whereas others mention it as twenty days. Badā'ūnī is silent about cattle, horses and prisoners.
  2. Yahyā, p.209. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol.I, p.302. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.293. Tabaqāt - is mistaken in mentioning Malik Ahmad and Maqbūl Khānī as one person. They are two different nobles.
  3. Yahyā, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, op.cit.



the fort and for the administration of the province Mahmūd Hasan was left there and the Sultān himself with rapid marches reached Dehli on the 11th Sha'bān 831/ June, 1428.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 835/1432-33, Sultān Ibrāhīm took a hand in the war of succession which took place among the sons of Qādir Shāh. Muhammad Behāmid Khānī is the only chronicler to supply us with a detailed account of this important event of Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign.<sup>2</sup> Other chroniclers including Yahyā and Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad make just a passing reference to this happening in the account of the reign of Sultān Mubārath Shāh of Dehli. They mention that while Sultān Mubārath Shāh of Dehli was preparing to take part in this affair, he was killed by some one.<sup>3</sup>

When Qādir Shāh died in 1432 A.D., his Wazīr Nizām Khān, sone of Firūz Khān, and the superintendent

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1. Yahyā, pp.209-12. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.278. Firishta, Vol.I, p.302.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.456a.

3. Yahyā, p.233. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.299-300. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.295-96. Tāhīr, f.606b. Mubārakh Shāh died a Rajab 837/19 February 1434, while he was superintending the erection of Mubārakabad.

of the affairs of the country Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, crowned Qādir Shāh's second son, Jalāl Khān, instead of his eldest son, Zaghir Khān A'zam Humāyūn. Zaghir Khān wanted to press his claim, but the wazīr of the state and some other high nobles were in favour of Jalāl Khān. Zaghir Khān found his position weak and, taking some of his men, went to the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm to seek help. Sultān Ibrāhīm treated him with great respect and also conferred upon him the title of Khān-i-Jahān. Jalāl Khān who was a weak and ease-loving prince became immersed in pleasure, and owing to his negligence, great disorder occurred in the affairs of the state. The nobles now turned against him. He was imprisoned and finally sent to the territory of Chandarī which he held as Jāgīr from his uncle, Sultān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwah.<sup>1</sup> Firūz Khān now succeeded him at Mahmūdābād. Sultān Ibrāhīm, feeling that further injustice had been done to the real claimant of the gaddī, marched upon Mahmūdābād, taking with him Zaghir Khān A'zam Humāyūn. Reaching Mahmūdābād, he encircled the whole city. Nizām Khān, the Wazīr, who conducted the defence of the citadel, held

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1. Tārkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.456. Jalāl Khān was <sup>the</sup> nephew of Sultān Hoshang of Mālwah, see Tārkh-i-Muhammadi, f.456a.

the besiegers at bay for about three months. Sultān Hoshang Shāh of Mālwah, learning of the situation, marched upon Mahmūdābād. Sultān Ibrāhīm, now concerned to safeguard his own position, raised the siege and, recrossing the Jamuna, encamped opposite the city. In the meanwhile, Sultān Hoshang had approached the city and was honourably received by Nizām Khān Wazīr, Mubārak Khān and all other nobles of the state, who went out to pay him homage. He decided the issue in favour of his nephew, Jalāl Khān, who was brought back again to be placed upon the gaddī with great pomp and show.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm finding the situation not favourable for Zaghīr Khān 'Azām Humayūn, made over to the latter the fort of Shāhpūr,<sup>2</sup> while he himself returned to Jaunpūr. Jalāl Khān after some time again started ill-treating his nobles and subjects. Many of the nobles were arrested without any reason. Mubārak Khān, the superintendent of the affairs of the state, being much disgusted, decided to leave the capital. He retired to his own Jāgīr in

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.456-457.

2. This fort, previously conquered by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, belonged to the state of Mahmūdābād.

the territories of Erach (Irāj). Jalāl Khān now stepped up his oppressive measures. He had even Nizām Khān and also the sons of Y'aqūb Khān and 'Umar Khān arrested and subjected to disgraceful treatment. Some of the people who thought that someone named 'Umar Khān was responsible for all the trouble in the city, captured him and murdered him. This provoked reprisals and counter-reprisals resulting in many murders. Fearing further dreadful happenings, some of the nobles left for Jaunpūr to seek Sultān Ibrāhīm's help. The latter received them cordially and showed them much honour. Sultān Hoshang Shāh, learning of this development, marched with a big army towards Mahmūdābād by way of Sultānpūr (also known as Khajwāh). Arriving in the vicinity of Mahmūdābād he rested for some days on the banks of the river Jamuna. From there taking along with him Jalāl Khān as well, he advanced rapidly on Mardānpūr, where on the other side of the Jamuna, Sultān Ibrāhīm was already encamped. Crossing the river Sultān Hoshang Shāh fell upon the Sharqī forces. In the indecisive battle that followed both sides suffered losses, Sultān Hoshang Shāh's being the heavier. To avoid protracted involvement, he left Jalāl Khān at Mahmūdābād and returned to his own country.<sup>1</sup>

1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, f.457b.

Many Mahmūdābādī nobles who had joined Sultān Ibrāhīm were determined to capture the city. So they persuaded him to march once again upon Mahmūdābād. Advancing with rapid marches, Sultān Ibrāhīm once again besieged the city. Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, the Wazīr of the state, along with many other nobles as well as the people of the city finding their position weak now, joined Sultān Ibrāhīm. At this Jalāl Khān, losing hope, came out of the fort with a few of his horsemen and went away towards the town of Bhandīr. The city of Mahmūdābād fell into the hands of the Sharqī Sultān who handed it over to Zaghīr Khān A'zam Humāyūn. But the latter, not fancying his new role, abdicated in favour of his brother. Taking his elephants and other equipment he vacated the city and went to the territory of Haseenpūr. When Sultān Ibrāhīm heard about this he called for Mubārak Khān, the Wazīr, and asked him to fetch from Bhandīr Jalāl Khān for whom he sent a robe of honour and valuable presents. Jalāl Khān was rethroned, Sultān Ibrāhīm now returned to his own capital.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 839/1435, Sultān Ibrāhīm assembled

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, ff.458, 459.

an immense army and marched against the Bengālī ruler, Shams ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh (1431-32 A.D.). None of our chroniclers have mentioned this incident except Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, the contemporary historian, who also gives the aforesaid date. According to him Sultān Ibrāhīm besieged the fort of Ikdala which was considered to be the strongest fort of Bengāl. Here Muhammad Behāmid Khānī closes the account of the invasion abruptly, and so we have no means of knowing either the cause or the result of this invasion.<sup>1</sup>

His last expedition against Dehli has been recorded with some minor details by Tāhir and Khair ud-dīn Muhammad.<sup>2</sup> The rest of our chroniclers such as Nizām ud-dīn and Firishta<sup>3</sup> mention it only in a passing reference in the account of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Sultān Mubārak Shāh (1421-34) of Dehli. In 1437 A.D. Sultān Muhammad Shāh's weak position encouraged Sultān Ibrāhīm to march upon Dehli with an immense army.<sup>4</sup> He advanced

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, ff.427.

2. Tāhir, ff.606, 607. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.19.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.291. Firishta, Vol.I, p.312.

4. Tāhir, ff.606b and 607a. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.12. The latter is incorrect in mentioning the date of this incident 838/1434, which does not correspond with Sultān Ibrāhīm's other affairs.

via Gawāliar, where the Rāī and other Rāīs of the region made their submission and offered him tribute.<sup>1</sup> On his way to Dehli he captured some of the parganas of the Dehli territory. Arriving near the capital, he laid siege to it.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Muhammad Shāh finding his position weak sought for peace and friendship by offering a matrimonial alliance. Sultān Ibrāhīm's son, Mahmūd Khān, was married to Sultān Muhammad Shāh's sister, Bībī Rājī, and thus with great pomp and glory Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to his capital.

Sultān Ibrāhīm did not live long after this. Some of our historians such as Firishta and Hādī would have us believe that the death of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatabādī, whose scholarship and piety had won him a great love and respect in the Sultān's heart, caused the latter so much grief that he became ill.<sup>3</sup> Hādī writes

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1. Tāhir, op.cit.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.12. Ghulām Hasān, ff.8b and 9a.

3. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595. Hādī, f.95a. Both write that once Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn fell ill, the Sultān went round his bed with a cup of water which he drank, and prayed to God to turn the calamity from the head of the scholar to his own self.

that although the physicians treated him, no improvement resulted and he died.<sup>1</sup> His date of death, like that of his ancestors, is also controversial. Muhammad Behāmid and Nūr ul-Haqq only mention the approximate period of his reign as forty years and do not mention the year of his death.<sup>2</sup> Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad also says he ruled for forty years, but inaccurately places the Sultān's death in 840/1436.<sup>3</sup> Firishta is wrong in giving him a total reign of thirty-eight years and so is Tāhir who makes it forty-two years.<sup>4</sup> Hasan, Khair ud-dīn Muhammad and the author of Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, are correct in giving the year of his death as 844/1440. Coins bearing his name and the date, 844AH, have also been found, and confirm this information. This makes his total reign forty years and a few months.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Hādī, f.95a.

2. Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi, f.427a. Nūr ul-Haqq, op.cit.

3. Tabaqāt, op.cit.

4. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595. Tāhir, op.cit.

5. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.59b. Hasan, f.417b. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.13. S.L. Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States), London, 1885. Also see, Appendix "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultans", pp. Coin No.273. on plate , p.



Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī is considered to be one of the greatest rulers of Hindustān of the fifteenth century. During the more than forty years of his reign Jaunpūr attained fame and prosperity. When he was crowned, the kingdom was still in a shaky position, as its foundations had not yet been consolidated. Sultān ush Sharq Malik Sarwar died when the kingdom was only just in its infancy. The next ruler, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī's reign lasted only one year. When Sultān Ibrāhīm ascended the throne his enemies on all sides were eager to annex Jaunpūr. The neighbouring kingdoms of Bengāl and Dehli were far more powerful than Jaunpūr. The Rājput Rājas and chieftains were looking forward to throwing off their yoke at any time. Thus Jaunpūr was face to face with internal as well as external dangers. Sultān Ibrāhīm waged wars on all sides in order to establish his authority. His dealings with the Rājput powers such as those of Tirhut and Ujjain and others showed admirable statesmanship. He subjugated them and secured their loyal support which helped him as well as his successors in the campaigns. His victory over Sultān Hoshang of Mālwah, who fought on behalf of Mahmūdābād, secured the vassalage of Mahmūdābād (Kālpi) to the Sharqīs for more than half a century. His political

as well as matrimonial alliances with the rulers of Bengāl and Dehli, further strengthened his position. Thus Sultān Ibrāhīm not only enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom but also established it on a very sound footing. His other achievements in the field of art and culture were no less remarkable. His benevolent patronage attracted many scholars of Hindustān and of foreign lands to Jaunpūr. He enabled them to pursue their work single-mindedly. Many of their books and treatises on Islamic law and philosophy were dedicated to him and thus immortalized his name. It was to his patronage that Jaunpūr owed the position of a great centre of Islamic learning - a position it continued to enjoy long after his reign. Sufis and saints such as Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Summanī, Khwāja Abu'l Fath, Shāh Madār, Shāh 'Abdulla Shattārī, Shaikh Hūsām ud-dīn Manikpūrī and many others were encouraged by him to spread Islām in that part of the country. His reign was also remarkable for the architectural splendour of Jaunpūr. He built beautiful palaces and mosques which preserve his name to this day.

The medieval chroniclers have paid him high tributes. Muhammad Behāmid Khānī, a contemporary historian, writes that he ruled his subjects with great justice

and gave them peace and love and affection.<sup>1</sup> Nūr ul-Haqq and the author of Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, add that he was gentle and benevolent and a patron of learning. He had great love for learned scholars, sufīs and saints.<sup>2</sup> Hādī pays tribute to his bravery and describes him as most cultured in all respects.<sup>3</sup> Ghulām Husain says that he was a king of pious nature and a great friend of artists and scholars and had respect for the saints and sufīs.<sup>4</sup> The author of Subh-i-Sādiq says that he was deeply learned. He was considerate towards his servants and took good care of them. He also enquired into the affairs of the poor and the indigent.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tārīkh-i-Muhammādī, f.427a.

2. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.37a. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.59a.

3. Hādī, ff.94-95.

4. Ghulām Hasan, f.8a

5. Subh-i-Sādiq vide Sayyid Hasan Askāri, Proceedings of the Historical Congress 23rd Session Aligarh, part I, 1960, p.35.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE SULTANATE IN ITS FULL GLORY (CONCLUDED).

#### A. Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī (1440-1457).

At the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī in 844/1440, his eldest son, Mahmūd Khān, succeeded to the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Mahmūd inherited a vast kingdom. Like his father he was a strict Muslim and took interest in the well-being of Islām not only in his own country but also beyond his territories.

The first important incident of his reign which took place in 1442 A.D., the second year of his reign, was

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1. Mushtāqī, (Tārīkh) f.229a. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.278. Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, f.59b. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595. Hasan, f.417b. 'A-Baqī, Vol.I, p.101. Hādī, f.95a. Jaunpūr Nama, p.13. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.37b (copies the same account as that of Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī. Nūr ul-Haqq only mentions his name, Mahmūd Khān, as being that of the eldest son. Firishta does not give his real name and calls him the eldest son (of Sultān Ibrāhīm). S.L. Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States). Also see Appendix "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultans Mahmūd Shāh's Coin No. 2 (844 A.H.) on plate XIX, p. 551

his invasion of Bengāl.<sup>1</sup> Most of our chroniclers have either ignored the event altogether or have barely mentioned it without giving any reason for the attack. The earliest mention of the invasion (846/1442) occurs in Matla 'us Sa'dain of 'Abdur Razzāq, an ambassador of Shāh Rukh, the ruler of Herāt to Vijyānāgar, but the writer neither mentions the name of the ruler of Jaunpūr of that time, nor any reason for the attack.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī's invasion of Bengāl is to be sought in the fact that the rule of Sultān Shams ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh (1431-42 A.D.) of Bengāl was cruel and oppressive and towards the end of his reign his tyranny became unbearable and threw the whole country

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1. R.C. Muzamdar, "The Sultanate of Dehli", Bombay, 1960, p.173, is mistaken in writing that the first important incident of his reign in 1440 A.D. was his attack upon Dehli. He corroborates it with Sultān Mahmūd Khalji's of Malwā's attack upon Dehli in 1440 A.D. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī attacked Dehli in 856/1452. See Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301.
  2. Matla'us-Sa'dain, ed. M. Shafi' Lahore, 1942, Vol.II, pp. 782-83. Major (R.H.) "India in the fifteenth century", p. 15. The latter does not mention the name of the ruler of Jaunpūr of that time. He also writes Jaunpūr as Djounahpūr. The editor (M. Shāfi) of "Matla 'us-Sa'dain" is mistaken in writing in his text the name of Sultān Ibrāhīm as the ruler of Jaunpūr at that time. Abdur Razzāq was sent to the court of Bijapūr in 846/1442, whose contemporary ruler of Jaunpūr was Mahmūd Sharqī.

into anarchy.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Shams ud-dīn Ahmad finding that he was unable to stand against the powerful Sharqī invader, appealed to Shāh Rukh of Herāt.<sup>2</sup> Shāh Rukh sent Shaikh ul-Islām Karīm ud-dīn Abu'l Mukkaram Jāmī with a message to the Sharqī king forbidding under threat of dire consequences any aggression on the kingdom of Bengāl. Sultān Mahmūd Shāh therefore refrained from interfering with the kingdom of Bengal.<sup>3</sup>

The following year (847/1443) reports were brought to Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī that the town of Shāhpur, which was larger and more populous than Mahmūdābād, had been completely devastated by Nasīr Khān (son of Qādir Shāh the ruler of Mahmūdābād/Kalpi), and that the Musalmāns had

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1. J.N. Sarkār, "The History of Bengāl", Doeca, 1948, Vol.II, p.129. W. Haig, CH.1, Vol.III, p.267. He is mistaken in mentioning that this happened in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm and that the latter invaded Bengāl.
  2. Matla 'us-Sa'dain, op.cit. Major (R.H.), op.cit.
  3. Matla'us-Sa'dain, op.cit. Major (R.H.), op.cit. Ābdur Razzaq provides us with some other interesting consequences of this event. He writes that as soon as the ruler of Calicut heard about the threat of Shāh Rukh to Sharqī Sultān, he (the ruler of Calicut) despatched an ambassador with valuable presents to the ruler of Herāt and assured the latter that his name and illustrious titles would be read in this part of the country in Khutba of Jum'a prayers as well as on solemn feast days.

been banished from their homes. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī felt himself in duty bound to take action on their behalf against Nasīr Khān, but thought it prudent first to consult the Sultān of Mālwah, Mahmūd Khaljī, with whom Nasīr Khān had a nominal alliance. So he sent an ambassador to Mālwah with valuable presents, with a message to the following effect: "Nasīr Khān, son of Qādir Khān, the ruler of Kālpī (Mahmūdābād), has turned from the strict path of the law of <sup>the</sup> Prophet, has adopted the ways of heresay and heterodoxy, has given up the practice of fasting and prayer, and has made over Musalmān women to Hindu Nayikās so that they might teach them the art of dancing.<sup>1</sup> As from the time of Sultān Hoshang of blessed memory, to the present day the chain of attachment and the relation of affection has become strengthened between the two parties, it appears obligatory on men under the behest of qāzi-i'agal (reason) that I should reveal this (matter) to your just and loving mind. If you permit, I shall chastise him and establish the tenets and rites of the religion of

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.279 and 326. Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), ff. 229-230. Firishta, Vol.II, p.596. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.374b. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.101. Tāhīr, f.690b. Nūr-ul-Haqq and Mushtāqī's (Tārīkh) accounts are the same.

Islām in that part of the country."<sup>1</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Khālji bestowed upon the Sharqī ambassador a robe of honour and the customary momentary award, then dismissed him with the following reply: "These matters havē come to my hearing in the shape of a false rumour, but now that your honourable self, the leader of the Sultāns, has notified them to me, they have reached the standard of definite knowledge, and under the circumstances the destruction of that wicked person is incumbent on all bādshās. If my own forces were not engaged in chastising the rebels of Mewāt, I would myself advance to destroy him. Now that your highness, asylum of Sultānates, has formed your resolution, may it be of good omen."<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh was so pleased to hear this reply that he sent twenty-nine elephants as a present to Mahmūd Khālji.<sup>3</sup> The former now assembled a large army

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.279 & 326. Mushtāqī (Tārikh), ff. 229-230. Firishta, Vol.II, p.596. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.374b. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.101 - the latter is silent about presents. Tāhir, f.690b.
  2. Mushtāqī, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Nūr ul-Haqq, op.cit. The latter does not give the details of Sultān Mahmūd Khālji's answer and omits it completely.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.279 & 327. Mushtāqī, op.cit. Tāhir, f.690b. Nizām ud-dīn Almad writes in one place, Vol.III, pp.279-80, twenty-nine elephants and twenty on the other - Vol.III, pp.326-27. Firishta who copies him in the same manner in both places.



advanced upon Nasīr Khān and expelled him from Mahmūdābād, whereupon he fled to Chandarī.<sup>1</sup> Assuming the character of a vassal of Mālwah Nasīr Khān wrote a petition to Sultān Mahmūd Khālǧī, in which he complained: "the Sharqī Sultān has turned me out with violence and tyranny from my fief which was bestowed upon me by Sultān Hoshang Shāh, and intends to annex not only Kalpi but also Chandarī."<sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Khālǧī now sent an ambassador, 'Alī Khān, with fine presents to Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī with the message that, as Nasīr Khān had repented of his evil acts and had promised to adopt the path of the law of prophet, he should be left in possession of his territory.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Khālǧī had not yet received the reply of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, when the former received another complaint from Nasīr Khān that the Sharqī monarch on account of an old grudge and ancient enmity did not want to leave the country and had also arrested Muslim women and handed them over to

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.280 & 327. Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), f. 230a. Firishta, Vol.II, p.596. Mushtāqī and Firishta both do not give the details.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.280. Firishta, op.cit. Mushtāqī, op.cit.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.280. Firishta, Vol.II, p.596. Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), f.230a. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.102. Tāhir, f.690b.

Kāfirs.<sup>1</sup> Thus Nasīr's humble and pitiful supplications aroused Mahmūd Khaljī's sense of honour and manliness. Taking a large army on the 2nd Sha'bān 848/8 January, 1444, he advanced towards Mahmūdābād. When he arrived at Chandarī he was also joined by Nasīr Khān. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī now came from Mahmūdābād to oppose them.<sup>2</sup> Reaching Erach (Irāj) he also secured the alliance of Mubārak Khān, son of Junaid Khān, the Jagīrdār of the place. Near the banks of the Jamunā in a narrow pass they encamped their forces and safeguarded their position by erecting works around it.<sup>3</sup> Here both parties continued fighting till the approach of evening, which freed them to return to their respective camps.<sup>4</sup> After a few

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1. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol.II, p.597. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt) is silent about handing over Muslim women to Kāfirs. Firishta also mostly copies Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad's account in all respects is much exaggerated here. The fact is that a religious-minded king such as Mahmūd Sharqī cannot do such a thing. Mushtāqī does not mention about the second petition of Nasīr Khān. Tāhir, f.690b, makes very brief mention about the rest of the affair - he is silent about the battle and writes that afterwards peace was concluded and then both the kings returned to their respective capitals.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.281. Firishta, Vol.II, p.597. Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), ff.229-30.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.328.
  4. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.281. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.102.

days, as the rainy season was already approaching, both left off fighting and turned back. Near the village of Ruth both the armies met once again and another battle took place in which the Sharqīs were defeated.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Ruth took refuge in Chandarī.<sup>2</sup> In the vicinity of Ruth both the armies engaged for a third time, both sides losing many dead and wounded.<sup>3</sup> As the war protracted Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, sent an emissary with a letter <sup>to</sup> Shaikh ul-Islām Shaikh Jailadah, who was one of the holy men of the age and whom Mahmūd Khalgī also held in great reverence. In it he proposed that as Musalmāns on both sides were being slain, it was imperative to effect concord and friendship between the contending powers. Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī further sent through his emissary an oral message to Nasīr Khān that he was willing to make over the town of Ruth, and four months after the return of Mahmūd Khalgī to Mālwah the town of Erach (Irāj) and other parts of the Kālṡī which had come into Sharqīs possession. Shaikh Jailadah sent an emissary in the

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.328-29.

2. Tabaqāt, Ibid. Firishta, Vol.II, p.490, the latter is silent about the assembling and sending of the people of Ruth to Chandarī.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.329. Firishta, Vol.II, p.490.

company of his own disciple to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī with a letter containing much advice. Mahmūd Khaljī was of the view that no peace could be made unless Kālpī was immediately handed over. But Nasīr Khān, who had been driven out of his territory, considered that the recovery of Rūth would be a great boon. Further as Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had made a promise through a holy man such as Shaikh Jailadah, it was assumed that there should be no breach of faith. Seeing that the person concerned with the matter was himself satisfied with this arrangement, Mahmūd Khaljī summoned <sup>the</sup> Sharqī emissary into his presence and accepted his proposals on condition that Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī would in no way interfere with Nasīr Khān and that after four months the Sultān would make over Kālpī and other captured towns to him. After this agreement the Sharqī emissary was dismissed with rewards. Sultān Khaljī then went to Mandū and Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī to Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> To celebrate his return to the capital Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī following his father's tradition, generously awarded rich

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1. *Tabaqāt*, Vol.III, pp.282 & 329. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.133-34. *Firishta*, Vol.II, pp.490 & 597-98. *Mushtāqī (Tārikh)*, f.230b. The latter omits most of the relevant details of the whole affair. According to him the parties returned to their respective places, owing to the advent of the rainy season after the very first encounter.

presents to nobles and scholars according to their ranks.<sup>1</sup>

After allowing himself some rest at his capital, and using his time to re-equip <sup>him-</sup>self and make good losses suffered in recent warfare, he marched out to crush the rebels of Chunār. Their chiefs were put to death and their territory was thoroughly plundered. To secure the conquest he appointed there governors with strong garrisons. Thus finalising the annexation of that part of the country, he returned to his capital.<sup>2</sup>

A zealous Muslim such as his father, he coveted to be called a Ghāzi. So he declared a holy war upon the infidels of Orissa. Here again our sources do not throw any light upon the internal situation of Orissa, which might have persuaded him to attack it. An inscription of a Jamī' Masjid dated 1443 A.D., built in the early part

1. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598. Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), f.230b.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.283. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.104. The latter is the only authority who correctly writes the name of this place as "Chunār". Nizām ul-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt) incorrectly writes it as Chambāran, and so is Firishta mistaken in calling it Jesāwar. Nizām ul-dīn Ahmad and Firishta are right to place this incident after the war of Mahmūdābād/Kālpī whereas C.H.I, Vol.III, is wrong to place it after the war of 1452 with Sultān Bahbūl Lodi, i.e. quite close to the end of his reign. 'A-Bāqī is silent about the appointments of the governors. Chunār lies on the right bank of the Ganges 125-7 N and 83.12 E. It is the headquarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in Mirzāpur district, U.P.

of his reign, shows that he had already initiated his plans to spread Islām there.<sup>1</sup> He now launched an attack on Orissa, and in his fervour destroyed many idol temples. He plundered and devastated the land, capturing much looty.<sup>2</sup> Having laid the foundations of two mosques at Pahārpur and leaving learned Muftīs as missionaries, he returned to his capital with much triumph and glory.<sup>3</sup>

He now remained in his capital for some years and spent most of his time in improving the administration of his country. He repaired all the old forts in different parts of his Empire, and stationed there strong garrisons under capable governors. He built many mosques in different parts of his country and appointed learned men for missionary work. His capital, Jaunpūr, was also adorned during this period with beautiful mosques, distinguished among them being the Iāl Darwāzah Mesjid (i.e. Ruby Gate Mosque).<sup>4</sup> Adjacent to it was the magnificent

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1. R.R. Diwākar "Bihār Through the Ages", Calcutta, 1959, p.94.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.283. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.104. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595. Hasan, f.418b. Mushtāqī, (Tārīkh), f.230b. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.375a.

3. R.R. Diwākar, op.cit.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.52-53. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.51. It was built in 1447 A.D.

palace of his favourite queen, Bibī Rājī, which was also completed at the same time.<sup>1</sup> He also spent part of his time in the company of mystics and the 'Ulāmā. Works of great scholarship were produced during his reign.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Mahmūd was eager now to put forward his claim upon Dehli, where political conditions seemed to favour his ambition. His brother-in-law, Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn 'Ālam Shah, (1445-1478), was a roi fainéant and the real power was in the hands of his Wazīr, Hamīd Khān. In 852/1448, Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn, went to Badā'ūn a second time leaving the management of the city under the supervision of his two brothers-in-law; one as the city police prefect and the other as superintendent of the roads.<sup>3</sup> The brothers were mutually hostile, and prejudiced the affairs of the capital. Eventually one of them was killed by the other who himself was killed by the people of the city at the instigation of Hisām Khān, the former Wazīr.<sup>4</sup> Sultān

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52.

2. For details see Chapters VII and VIII.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.29.

4. Ibid, p.14. Rājī Partāp even promised S. 'Alā ud-dīn to transfer 40 parganas to the crown land. Actually he wanted to avenge Hamīd Khān. The latter had killed Rājī Partāp's father in a war and had taken away Rājī Partāp's mother. Also see Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.297.

'Alā ud-dīn being informed by the opponents of Hamīd Khān Wāzir, such as Qutb Khān, Isā Khān and Rāī Partāp, that all this had been done by the conspiracy of Hamīd Khān, ordered the latter to be arrested and put to death. But Hamīd Khān escaped from the prison and fled from Badā'ūn to Dehli, where he was joined by Hisām Khān. Hamīd Khān entered the harem of the Sultān and drove out his wife, sons and daughters bareheaded from the citadel, after which he took possession of the treasures and paraphernalia of sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn was prevented by rains from coming to Dehli to take action against Hamīd Khān.<sup>2</sup> This encouraged Hamīd Khān to take advantage of the situation and he planned to seat some other candidate on the throne. As Sultān Mahmūd Khālgī of Mālwah was at a distance, he summoned Bahlūl Lodī from Sirhind. The latter came to Dehli with a large force and after negotiating with Hamīd Khān, took the keys of the citadel on 17th Rabī'ī 855/1451. Later he arrested Hamīd Khān and assumed sovereignty.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī's

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1. Tabaqāt, op.cit. A. Halīm, op.cit., pp.14-15.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.293. A. Halīm, op.cit. p.15.

3. Ibid. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.20. The latter incorrectly writes that when the nobles of Dehli invited Mahmūd Sharqī from Jaunpūr, Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn, knowing this fact, called Bahlūl and handed over to him the paraphernalia of the sovereignty and he himself retired to Badā'ūn - a completely wrong statement



wife was alarmed to know this. She persuaded her husband to lead an expedition against Bahlūl.<sup>1</sup> When the latter received intelligence of all this, he pretended to apologise very humbly to the Sharqī Sultān and very slyly gave him assurance of 'a warm reception'.<sup>2</sup> But the latter divined the true meaning of Bahlūl's words and refused to listen to him. In the meanwhile some of the amīrs of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn grew dissatisfied with Bahlūl and during his absence in Punjāb they came over to Sultān Mahmūd's court and invited him to proceed to Dehli.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 'Abdullah, p.13, but he is mistaken in mentioning her, i.e. Mahmūd Sharqī's wife was the daughter of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn and so is Ishwarī Parasād, "History of Medieval India", Allahabad, 1928, p.428 - mistaken in calling her likewise. Sujān Rāī, f.198a, is correct in writing that actually Mahmūd Sharqī's son, Husain Sharqī, was the son-in-law of Sultān 'Alā ul-dīn. According to 'Abdullah, - she said to her husband: "Bahlūl has no right to capture my father's throne and country, and if you hesitate to march upon Dehli I will ride and lead the expedition against Dehli."
  2. 'Abdullah, p.13.
  3. Tāhir, ff.607b, is the only authority who mentions this fact, whereas Nizām ud-dīn, Firishta, Badā'unī and 'Abdullah write that he was only sent a written invitation. 'Abdullah is mistaken in writing that at that time Bahlūl was in Sirhind whereas Nizām ul-dīn (Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301) writes that he was at that time in the neighbourhood of Multān. 'Abbās Sherwānī, Tārīkh Sher Shāhī or at B.M.M.S. OR164, f.3a, B.M.OR1782, is also mistaken in asserting that he was invading Multān to place Shaikh Yūsuf on the throne on this occasion, because Shaikh Yūsuf was deposed in 856/1452. In fact Bahlūl was invading Multān against Shaikh

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Sultān Mahmūd, who had already collected a huge army for this object and was waiting for such a favourable opportunity, was now further encouraged in his resolve .

In the beginning of 856/1452 Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī marched rapidly towards Dehli and besieged the city with 170,000 cavalry and foot soldiers and 1,400 war elephants.<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Bāyazīd, son of Sultān Bahlūl, Bībī Matto, the widow of Sultān Shāh Lodī and Bahlūl's mother-in-law, with their kinsmen and some of the Afghān nobles shut themselves up in the fort.<sup>2</sup> As the fighting force in the fort was small, Bībī Matto clad some women in men's attire and

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Yūsuf Qureshi who had declared independence in 854/1450. Bahlūl had returned from Dipālpūr without going to Multān - when he heard about the invasion of Mahmūd Sharqī.

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.301-2. 'Abdullah, p.13. Ferishta, Vol. I, pp.321-22, and II, pp.598-99. Ni'mat Ullah, f.65a, Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, op.cit, f.2a. Tāhir, f.607b. The latter is mistaken in writing the year of this event as 855/1451. Nizām ul-dīn (Tabaqāt), Ferishta and Mushtāqī (Tārīkh), f.4b, and Wāqī'at, p.7, are all silent about the number of elephants. Ni'mat Ullah is also mistaken in mentioning the number of elephants as 1,000. 'Abdullah is the only authority who mentions the strength of the cavalry, foot soldiers and elephants.
2. 'Abdullah, p.13. Mushtāqī Wāqī'at, p.7 and Tārīkh, f.4b. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.64-65.

stationed them in the parap<sup>h</sup>ets of the fort to deceive the enemy by a false show of numbers.<sup>1</sup> The Afghāns, led by skilled archers, such as Shāh Sikandar Sherwānī, son-in-law of Khān Jahān Lodī, started shooting arrows at the Sharqī forces. But as the siege protracted and no reinforcements arrived, the Afghāns could not stand against the Sharqī forces.<sup>2</sup> The Afghāns decided to beg for peace and therefore approached Daryā Khān Lodī, the governor of Sambhal, who was an ally of the Sharqīs. It was decided that the fort along with the whole city should be handed over to the Sharqī Sultān, and the Afghān force should at once vacate the fort.<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Shams ud-dīn, one of the nobles of Dehli, brought the keys to hand over to Daryā Khān Lodī, the commander of the Sharqī forces, but asked the latter to listen to his request in private. Sayyid Shams ul-dīn said to him: "The keys of the fort

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1. 'Abdullah, op.cit. Mushtāqī, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301. Ni'mat Ullah, f.65a. 'Abdullah, pp.13-14. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, p.7. Tarikh, f.64-5. Nizām ul-dīn (Tabaqāt) does not mention Shāh Sikandar's name.
  3. Mushtāqī, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.14. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. 'Abdullah is silent about the name of Daryā Khān Sambhli.

are here, but as a Lodī noble, you should not disrespect and dishonour your own Lodī women who have taken shelter in the fort and who are just like your own mothers and sisters." Daryā Khān, a Lodī Afghān, was thus won over to the Lodī side, and returned the keys.<sup>1</sup> Daryā Khān Lodī returned to Mahmūd Sharqī and told the latter that, although the keys of the fort had been brought to him, they were of no use, because Sultān Bahlūl would soon arrive with a huge army. If they could win the war against him, not only the city but also the whole country would be theirs. The credulous Sultān believed him and thus was deceived by the stratagem.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Bahlūl, hearing of the Sharqī invasion, had already set out on a return march. He had also circulated an appeal in the meanwhile to the Afghān Chiefs of India and Roh, emphasising the Afghān national danger as well as promising them Jāgīrs for the asking.<sup>3</sup> He now

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1. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, pp.7-8. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. 'Abdullah op.cit.

2. Mushtāqī, Wāqī'āt, p.8. Ni'mat Ullah, f.65a. 'Abdullah, pp.14-15.

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3. 'Abbās Sherwāni Tārikh/Sher Shāhī, B.M.M.S. OR1782, ff.2. Roh in a narrow sense means the hill region round the Sulaimān mountains.

encamped at Narela, about seventeen miles from Dehli.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī sent thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants under Daryā Khān Lodī and Fath Khān Harwī, the commander-in-chief to oppose Bahlūl.<sup>2</sup> Reaching Narela the Sharqī forces also encamped. In the meanwhile one day, as has been mentioned by Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, some of the Sharqī camels and bullocks which were out pasturing, were seized by the Lodī troops.<sup>3</sup> This compelled the Sharqī forces to attack the enemy. In the battle that followed Qutb Khān Lodī, a distinguished archer, disabled the Sharqī elephant seated upon which Fath Khān Harwī was leading the attack. This forced the latter to withdraw from the battlefield.<sup>4</sup> This, in turn, provided Qutb Khān with a chance to approach Darayā Khān Lodī whom he harangued thus: "Thy mothers and sisters are shut

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1. Mushtāqī, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301. 'Abdullah, p.15. Firishta, Vol.I, p.321. Ni'mat Ullah incorrectly writes the name of Narela as Zelah and Mushtāqī as Lumbrah.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301. 'Abdullah, p.15. Ni'mat Ullah, f. 65a - is mistaken in writing thirty-nine elephants. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, p.8. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.440. Both the latter are silent about elephants.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.15 - the latter does not mention about the elephant which was leading Fath Khān Harwī's vanguard.

up in the fort. Is it fitting that thou shouldst fight on the side of a stranger and shouldst not protect the honour(of thy people)?" This affected Daryā Khān Lodī so much that he agreed to leave the battlefield on condition that he would not be pursued.<sup>1</sup> His defection threw the Sharqī army into confusion and they were routed. The chief of the Sharqīs, Fath Khān Harwī, became a prisoner. As he had killed Rāī Pithora, brother of Rāī Kasan of Khor, the latter severed his head, which was brought to Bahlūl.<sup>2</sup>

The Sharqī forces crestfallen now returned to join Sultān Mahmūd who was still engaged in the siege of Dehli.<sup>3</sup> When the besieged on the parapet of the fort saw the confusion of the Sharqī forces, they at once informed Bībī Matto, who ordered the drums of conquest to be sounded. Sultān Mahmūd, hearing this sound, was much

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1. 'Abdullah, p.15. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.301. Ni'mat Ullah, f.65a.

2. 'Abdullah, p.15. Mushtāqī (Wāqī'āt), p.8. The latter incorrectly writes that Fath Khān Harwī was killed with an arrow. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.302, writes these details. 'Abdullah is silent about the name of the person who severed the head of Fath Khān Harwī. Firishta, Vol.I, p.321, writes his exact name Rāī Pāthora.

3. 'Abdullah, op.cit.

puzzled, and ordered his men to inquire about the truth of the matter.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile, Mubārāk Khān Sambhlī arrived and told Sultān Mahmūd of the defeat at Narela.<sup>2</sup> When he heard that Fath Khān had been captured and killed, he was stricken with grief and disappointment, and ordered his forces to return to Jaunpūr.

The next important expedition which he had was against Ujjain. The Ujjainīs had been under the yoke of the Sharqīs since Sultān ush Sharq Malik Sarwar's reign. Ishwarī Singh, the eldest son of Sangrām Dev, was now ruling there. Ishwarī Singh was a pleasure-loving prince. His lack of interest in administration threw his country into confusion. When Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī heard of Ishwarī Singh's voluptuous orgies and the disorder prevailing in his realm, he sent a strong force in 1454 A.D. to conquer Ujjain. Ishwarī Singh became alarmed and, being unable to stand against such a force, abandoned his palace and fled to the jungles. Capturing Dāwa, his capital, the Sharqī forces continued the pursuit of the fugitive who was eventually arrested and killed in 1455 A.D.

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1. Mushtāqī, Wāqī'āt, p.8. 'Abdullah, pp.15-16.

2. Mushtāqī, op.cit. pp.8-9. 'Abdullah, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah f.65a & b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.301-2. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598. The latter is the only authority who mentions seven elephants as well.

Having thus restored peace to that land, Mahmūd's army returned to his capital with great pomp and glory.<sup>1</sup>

Bahlūl in spite of his success in the previous war with the Sharqīs, did not forget the valour and courage of the Sharqī army with which they had besieged Dehli. He wanted to get rid of the nightmare of a Sharqī occupation of Dehli. So to fortify his position, he busied himself properly organizing his dominions, and in recovering the lost territories. Within a few years he was able to reduce Ahmed Khān, the governor of Mewāt, Daryā Khān of Sambhal and Rāī Partāp, the ruler of Bhongāon. He captured Raprī and from there he advanced upon Etāwah and expelled the Sharqī governor (1455 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had been uncomfortably watching his career of conquest. As the Lodī frontiers advanced menacingly near his own kingdom, he decided to challenge the enemy. The latter, reaching the territory of Etāwah, also encamped his forces. After one day's indecisive battle, peace was concluded between the parties through the mediation of Qutb Khān Lodī and Rāī Partāp on the following terms -

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1. R.R. Diwakar "Bihar Through the Ages", p.393.

2. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.302-3. 'A-Baqī, Vol.I, pp.441-42. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.321-22, and Vol.II, p.598.



that Bahlūl should return the seven elephants captured in the battle of Narela (856/1452), that both should retain possession of the territories which had belonged respectively to the late Sultān's Ibrāhīm Sharqī and Mubārak Shāh (Sayyid) of Dehli, and lastly Shamsābād should be taken away after the rains from Jūnā Khān, its Sharqī governor and be transferred to Bahlūl.<sup>1</sup>

But this peace did not last for long and the next year 861/1456-7 hostilities between the two rulers broke out afresh, 861/1456-7. Sultān Bahlūl after the end of the rainy season sent a farḡān to Jūnā Khān, the Sharqī governor of Shamsābād,<sup>2</sup> to vacate the place. Jūnā Khān did not comply with his orders, whereupon Bahlūl marched on Shamsābād, forcibly ejected Jūnā Khān and handed it over to Rāī Karan.<sup>3</sup> The former immediately sent an emissary to the Sharqī court, and begged for help. Sultān Mahmūd being provoked, rapidly marched upon Shamsābād and

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1. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65a and b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.302-3. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.441-42.

2. Shamsābād lies eighteen miles north-west of Farrūkhabād in the Farrūkhabād District, U.P. (27.32 N and 79.28 E); it was founded by Shams ud-dīn Iletmish.

3. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.303. 'Abdullah, p.16. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.441-42. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598.

attacked Bahlūl's nominee in that town. Daryā Khān Lodī and Qutb Khān Lodī made a night attack upon the Sharqī camp. Unluckily Qutb Khān fell from his horse,<sup>1</sup> was captured by the Sharqīs and sent to Jaunpūr where he remained in captivity for seven months.<sup>2</sup> The loss of Qutb Khān, Bahlūl's cousin and brother-in-law, was a source of great distress for him. Rāī Karan continued defending the Shamsābād fort, and could offer a stout opposition to the besiegers for some time. Bahlūl, finding Rāī Karan's position weak posted prince Jalāl Khān and prince Sikandir to render him assistance, while he himself marched upon Sultān Mahmūd's camp.<sup>3</sup> During this warfare Sultān Mahmūd fell ill

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1. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65a and b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.303. 'Abdullah, p.16. 'A-Baqi, Vol.I, pp.441-42. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598.
  2. Our chroniclers write that Qutb Khān remained in Jaunpūr prison for seven years. The later history of both the Sharqī and the Lodī Sultāns contradicts this. Mahmūd Sharqī's successor, Muhammad, ruled only about five months (Tabaqāt), Vol.III, p.284. The latter succeeded to the throne of his father who had died on the battlefield in 862/1457. Qutb Khān was released on the succession of Husain Shāh Sharqī, Muhammad Shāh's successor. Qutb Khān's period of captivity comes to seven months only, as described only by Firishta.
  3. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65a and b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.303. 'Abdullah, p.16. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.441-42, Firishta, Vol.II, p.598.

suddenly, probably because of some epidemic, and died in 862/1457.<sup>1</sup> At this his son and successor, Shahzādah Bihān Khān, and the Sharqī queen Bībī Rājī, made peace with Bahlūl.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, like his father, was fond of art and architecture, and the beautiful buildings, palaces and magnificent mosques which he built not only in Jaunpūr but also in different parts of his empire, testify to his fine taste.<sup>3</sup> Our chroniclers give him high tribute for his successful reign. They write of him as a noble king of high dignity who achieved much both in the field of religion and of politics.<sup>4</sup> Nūr ul-Haqq writes that during his reign people were happy and

1. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65a and b. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.303. 'Abdullah, p.16. 'A-Baqi, Vol.I, p.104. Firishta, Vol.II, p.598. Tahir, f.608a - a later authority mentions that he was poisoned by some one of his relations.

2. Firishta, Vol.I, p.323, and Vol.II, pp.598-99. 'A-Baqi, Vol.I, p.104.

3. See details in Chapter VI (on Architecture).

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prosperous.<sup>1</sup> Nizām ud-dīn Ahmaī says that "after his accession Jaunpūr had become a garden of hopes for his people who were refreshed and verdant with the abundance of the rain of his benefaction. He gave greatness and grandeur to his kingdom and his people experienced the joys of life abundantly."<sup>2</sup> Firishta remarks that he managed the affairs of his country with great wisdom and authority and set the country on successful lines.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.374b.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.278-79.

3. Firishta, Vol.II, p.595.

B. Sultān Muhammad Shāh Sharqī (1457-1458).

At Sultān Mahmūd's sudden death late in the year 862/1457, on the battlefield, his queen, Bībī Rājī, with the consent of the Sharqī amīrs at once crowned his eldest son, Bhikan Khān, who assumed the title of Sultān Muhammad Shāh.<sup>1</sup> As the coins prove, it seems that he had already been nominated as the successor to the throne by his father, who had also allowed him to issue coins on his own behalf in the last two years of his reign.<sup>2</sup> On Sultān Mahmūd Shāh's death, Sultān Muhammad Shāh and queen Bībī Rājī found themselves in a weak situation, so they decided to make peace with their enemy. It was decided that Bahlūl should continue to hold what was in his possession and Sultān Muhammad should keep all the territories of the late Sultān.<sup>3</sup> Then both returned to their respective capitals.

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.303. Firishta, Vol.II, p.599. 'A-Bāqī, Vol.I, p.442. The latter incorrectly writes his name Bhikan as Bhakan.
  2. N. Wright, "Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum", Oxford, 1907, Vol.II, p.207. S. Lane Poole "Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States)", London, 1885, pp.102-3. Also see Appendix Sharqī Coins. "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns, pp. 543-57 and plates No.XVIII and XIX, pp. 547 & 551
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.17 - simply mentions that peace was made and does not mention the conditions of the treaty. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65-66.

Sultān Muhammad was a man of tyrannical nature and his subjects did not like him at all. He had a constant dread that his nobles would depose him and raise Hasan Khān, one of his brothers, to the throne. On reaching Jaunpūr he imprisoned two of them, namely Hasan Khān and Qutb Khān. He also alienated his nobles by his cruel disposition and irritable temper. As has been stated by Firishṭa, he put to death many of the nobles, thus spreading uncertainty and fear among high and low.<sup>1</sup>

Bahlūl had hardly reached the neighbourhood of Dehli, when he received a message from his wife, Shams Khatūn, the sister of Qutb Khān, to the effect that as long as Qutb Khān should remain in Sultān Muhammad's prison, rest, repose and sleep should be unlawful for him.<sup>2</sup> Bahlūl took these words to heart and proceeded from Dankaur to Jaunpūr to attack the Sharqī Sultān.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Firishṭa, Vol.II, p.599.

2. *Ibid.* Ni'mat Ullah, ff.65b and 66a. *Tabaqāt*, Vol.I, p.304. 'Abdullah, p.17. *Jaunpūr Nāma*, p.14. The latter is incorrect in writing that this message was delivered to him when he was in his apartment in Dehli.

3. *Tabaqāt*, Vol.I, p.304, incorrectly writes Dankaur as Dankpur. 'Abdullah, p.17. 'A-Baqī, Vol.I, p.443. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a, and Firishṭa, Vol.II, pp.599-600 are silent about this place. They write that when he reached the neighbourhood of Dehli, he received the message of his wife and returned to Jaunpūr. *Dankaur* is a town in the Sikandarābād tahsil, Bulandshahr district, U.P., thirty-four miles east of Dehli. Imp. Gaz.

Sultān Muhammad also marched to oppose him. Reaching Shamsābād, the first thing he did was to expel Rāī Karan, its governor, and re-appoint his own governor in the person of Jūnā Khān.<sup>1</sup> Rāī Partāp, the ruler of Etāwah, being attracted by Sultān Muhammad's success, also transferred his allegiance from Dehli to Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> Marching forward now, he encamped his forces at Sirsūtī<sup>3</sup> to oppose and attack his enemy. Bahlūl reaching Rāprī near Sirsūtī, also encamped his army. For some<sup>time</sup>/desultory and inconclusive fighting took place in which Sultān Muhammad found his forces much demoralised.<sup>4</sup> This was due to the discord among his nobles. Sultān Muhammad Shāh realized it was necessary to crush first his own rivals at home. From there he sent an order to his kotwāl at Jaunpūr to put to death his brothers, Hasan Khān and Qutb Khān Lodī, both of whom were in prison. But the kotwāl replied that

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.304. Firishta, Vol.II, pp.599-600 - the latter is silent about this name. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.22, is wrong to call Jūnā Khān as Khūbān Khān.
  2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.17. The latter is silent about this.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Sirsūtī or Saresti may be Sirsaganj town on the bank of the Sirsa river, in Etāwah district, U.P. Battuta (Vol.III, pp.142-3) describes it as a big town on the banks of the Saresti river.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit.

his mother, Queen Bībī Rājī, was strictly keeping an eye on the condemned men, so the order could not be carried out. Muhammad Shāh, finding his mother an obstacle to his success, persuaded her to join him on the plea that she might arrange a settlement between him and Hasan Khān, giving the latter a part of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> As soon as she left Jaunpūr, Shahzādah Hasan Khān was murdered by the Kotwāl in accordance with the <sup>a</sup>furmān of Muhammad Shāh. Bībī Rājī had hardly reached <sup>a</sup>Kēnaūj when she heard this sad news and stopped there to perform the mourning ceremonies for her deceased son. She decided to remain at Kenauj.<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Shāh wrote her a brutal taunt that she would save herself trouble by mourning at the same time for other sons who would follow the same fate.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Muhammad Shāh's wrathful and bloodthirsty nature alarmed his amīrs who felt afraid of him. His brothers, Shahzādah Husain Khān and Shahzādah Jalāl Khān, who were also in the camp with him, fearing lest they

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.304.

2. Ibid, Ahmad Yādgar, Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afghānān, pp.14-15.

3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.323-24.



should share the fate of Hasan, decided to take immediate action. Nizām ud-dīn and Firishta write that they conspired with some of the amīrs such as Jālāl Khān Ajodhanī and Sultān Shāh, and spread a false report that Sultān Bahlūl intended to make a night attack upon them. Muhammad Shāh was induced to leave at their disposal three thousand cavalry and one thousand elephants.<sup>1</sup> This force encamped quite near by on the bank of the Jhirna.<sup>2</sup> But, as Shahzādah Jālāl Khān had been left behind, Shahzādah Husain Khān sent someone to summon him. Bahlūl, knowing their situation, sent an army against them. Shahzādah Husain Khān and Sultān Shāh, the Sharqī noble, turned their forces towards Kanauj to be in a safer position. It so happened that the part of the Dehli army which was following them also reached the Jhirna where the Sharqīs had encamped before. Shahzādah Jālāl Khān in compliance with the summons of Shahzādah Husain, went towards the same Jhirna, where now Lodī forces were stationed. Taking them forth their brother Husain's contingent, he went close to them. The Lodī

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.305. Firishta, Vol.II, p.600. Hādī, ff.608, is incorrect in writing two thousand elephants.

2. The Jhirna is a small tributary of <sup>the</sup> Yamuna and joins the latter from the north near Shāhdara after passing through the Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts U.P. Distt. Gaz. Agra.

troops who, knowing that he would be an exchange for Qutb Khān, kept him in confinement.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Muhammad Shāh, becoming aware of the defection of his brother and feeling that he was too weak to meet Bahlūl, also took the road to Kanauj. Sultān Bahlūl pursued him and when the latter reached the Ganges, attacked Muhammad Shāh, looted a part of his equipage and war material, and returned.<sup>2</sup>

Shahzādah Husain and the Sharqī amīrs reaching Kanauj joined Queen Bibī Rājī and told her the whole story. Queen Bibī Rājī and the Sharqī chiefs decided to proclaim Shahzādah Husain Khān king.(862/1457).<sup>3</sup> Now instead of

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.305. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a. Firishta, Vol. II, p.600. 'Abdullah, pp.17-18 - is completely wrong to call him Shahzādah Jālāl Khān, son of Muhammad Shāh Sharqī. Neither does 'Abdullah explain the whole situation. Ahmad Yadgār, Tārīkh i Salātīn i-Afghanān, p.15, is mistaken in writing Shahzādah Jālāl Khān as son of Sultān Muhammad.

2. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.305. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a. Firishta, Vol. II, p.600. 'A-Baqī, Vol.I, p.444. Tāhir, f.608b. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad and Tāhir are completely wrong to mention his date of accession as 855/1451. Tāhir is mistaken in mentioning that his succession took place at Jaunpūr, whereas others mention it at Kanauj.

going against Bahlūl they decided to deal first with Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Malik Mubārak Gang, Malik 'Alī Gujarātī and some other chiefs were deputed against him. Muhammad Shāh was already encamped on the bank of the river Ganges near the Ford of Rājgīr.<sup>1</sup> When Husain's army arrived near Muhammad Shāh's, the rest of the amīrs also left Muhammad Shāh and joined the forces of Husain. Sultān Muhammad, finding himself left with only a few horsemen, fled to a nearby garden.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Husain's forces went after him, whereupon Sultān Muhammad who was a powerful archer took up his bow and arrows to face his enemies all alone. But Queen Bībī Rājī had already bribed Sultān Muhammad's bodyguard to remove the heads of the latter's arrows. When Sultān Muhammad found his arrows without heads, he drew his sword, boldly faced the situation and slew some of Husain's men. But one arrow which shot by Mubārak Gang struck him in the neck and he fell

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1. Rājgīr Ford is three miles south-east of Kanauj on the banks of the Kālīnadi. Fuhrer. Arch Sur of Ind. Rep. Vol. II, New Series, p.83.
  2. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a - is mistaken in writing that he was left with one hundred horsemen, whereas other chroniclers agree that he was left with only a few horsemen.

from his horse and died.<sup>1</sup> He was buried at Dalmaū.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Bahlūl was still more powerful than the Sharqīs. Rāī Partāp who on a former occasion had joined the late Sultān Muhammad now turned to Bahlūlas well. Sultān Husain Shāh, observing the changed situation, now thought it prudent to make peace with his enemy. It was decided that both should return their respective prisoners and both should remain contented with their dominions for four years.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Husain marching from Kanauj came

1. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.306. Firishta, Vol.II, p.600. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.444. 'Abdullah, p.18. The latter does not give the name of the amīrs. He is further mistaken in writing that the heads of the arrows were taken by some of his enemies, whereas others agree that Queen Bibī Rājī had done it through her men. Ahmad Yādgar, Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afghānān, pp.15-16, is also mistaken in writing that Queen Bibī Rājī kept Muhammad Shāh a prisoner in chains. Sultān Muhammad Shāh's coins as well as those of Sultān Husain Shāh of the years 861-862 and 863 AH exist. It looks as if both were contending for power as each was issuing coins in his own name. So the definite rule of Muhammad Shāh cannot be ascertained. Also see Appendix, "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns", pp. 543-57 and plate No. XIX, p.551
2. Muhammad Shāh's tomb was built by Husain Shāh, his brother. This lies in a garden at Makhanpur, a mile from the town of Dalmaū in Rāī Bareilly, Distr. U.P. Fuhrer, Arch.Survey of Ind. Rep., Vol.II, New Series, p.320.
3. Ni'mat Ullah, f.66a. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.306. Firishta, Vol.II, p.601.

near the reservoir known as Haryah and ecamped there. From there he sent for Qutb Khān from Jaunpūr, honoured him with a robe of honour and a horse and other favours, and sent him to Bahlūl with all due honours. In the same way Sultān Bahlūl sent Shahzādah Jālāl to Jaunpūr. Then both the Sultāns returned to their respective capitals.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Muhammad Shāh was a cruel, bloodthirsty man of tyrannical nature who ruled ingloriously for about five months in which many atrocious deeds were committed which shook the future stability of the empire.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.306-7. Firishta, op.cit. The latter is wrong to write Harya as Harhah.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. Firishta, op.cit. See footnote 1) of p.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE DECLINE OF THE SULTANATE.

#### Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī - 1458-1505.

Sultān Husain Shāh after concluding a peace treaty with Bahlūl Lodī, (862/1458) reached Jaunpūr which had seen such anarchy and turmoil during the short reign of the last monarch. Sultān Husain Shāh took measures to restore law and order in the city.<sup>1</sup> As stated by Firishta the first thing he was to make inquiries into the murder of his brother, Shahzādah Hasan. The amīrs who had taken part in it were apprehended and severely punished.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Husain had inherited a vast kingdom, the boundaries of which stretched from the foothills of the Himālayas to the borders of Mālwah Bandel Khand and Baghel Khand on one side, and from the frontiers of

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.283. H.N. Wright, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol.II, p.207. Also see Appendix, "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns", pp.545-57. Tāhir, f.608b, is incorrect to give his date of accession as 855/1451.

2. Firishta, Vol.II, p.601.

Bengal almost up to the gates of Dehli on the other. But even these extensive territories did not satisfy the boundless ambition of Sultān Husain and he determined to enlarge it. He increased his army, trained it and equipped it with all the necessary requirements, and advanced upon Orissa. Most of our chroniclers such as Badā'ūnī, 'Abdullah and Tāhir altogether omit this first major event of his reign and those who do mention it, namely Nizām ud-dīn, Firishta, Hādī, Nūr ul-Haqq and Hasan, have recorded neither the date nor the reason of Husain's invasion of that country.<sup>1</sup> The rulers of Orissa since the time of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had been Sharqī feudatories. But taking advantage of the anarchy at Jaunpūr, they had stopped the payments of the usual tribute. Sultān Husain on his way first plundered and devastated the country of Tirhut and levying tribute from the refractory people of the place, triumphantly marched upon Orissa.<sup>2</sup> Entering the territory, he sent detachments to various parts of the country,

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. Firishta, Vol.II, p.601. Hādī, f.97b. Nūr ul-Haqq, ff.375. Hasan, f.418b.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. Firishta, Vol.II, p.601.

looted the rich lands, and harassed the people. The Rāī Kapilendra Devā (1435-67) the ruler of Orissa, could not stand against the Sharqī power.<sup>1</sup> He was much humiliated by the invader and in great distress submitted to him. Kapileshwar Devā, through his agent, prayed for the pardon of his faults and begged for peace. The Sultān granted his prayer. The Rāja presented him with thirty elephants and one hundred horses, along with many other valuable gifts. Sultān Husain now returned to his country with great pomp and glory.

His successful invasion of Orissa, a first experience, was very promising to him, and encouraged him in his plans of expansion. He now decided to advance westward. But before setting out, he strengthened the defences of Jaunpūr by repairing various fortresses in different parts of his dominions. In the year 870/1465<sup>2</sup> the much dilapidated fort of Benāras was repaired

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- p.284.                      p.601.
1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III/Firishta, Vol.II/ Hasan, f.418b. R.C. Majumdar, The Dehli Sultanate, p.191, mistakenly says that the presents were given to him by Rāī of Tirhut and not by the Rāī of Orissa. The historians of Orissa are silent about this campaign, and it is difficult to judge what happened.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. Tahir, f.691a. Firishta, Vol.II p.601-2 is wrong to mention the date of its repair as 871/1466-67, because this i.e. 871/1466-67 is agreed upon by most of our chroniclers as the year of his attack upon Gawālīor.



and rebuilt. He stationed there a strong garrison under a capable governor.

Next year (871/1466) he sent a strong force under his commander-in-chief to Gawālīor where Rāja Mān Singh was still maintaining his independence against both Jaunpūr and Dehli.<sup>1</sup> The Sharqī forces besieged the city. Rāja Mān Singh shut himself up in the fort. But when the siege was protracted he agreed to submit. He paid a large indemnity and accepted the status of a vassal.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Husain had now earned a great reputation by his conquests. He had consolidated his position on both his western and eastern frontiers. The tributes he gained from Orissa and Gawālīor materially strengthened his position. Being thus fortified he now decided to challenge his formidable enemy, Bahlūl of Dehli. Bahlūl

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- p.284.
1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III/Firishta, Vol.II p.602. Tāhir, op.cit. Hasan, f.419b. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.375b. Tāhir is the only authority who mentions that he sent for this task his Commander-in-chief.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602. Hasan, f.419a. Nūr ul-Haqq, f.375b. Tāhir, f.691a - the latter also mentions that Rāja Mān Singh also promised to send him a few elephants every year and a good amount of money not specially mentioned.

during these years had expelled the Sharqī governor, Jūnā Khān, from Shamsābād and had handed the city over to Rāī Karan.<sup>1</sup> This displeased Sultān Husain and he planned to attack the Lodī territory. The four year truce had long expired. In 1468 A.D. Bahlūl leaving Qutb Khān Lodī and Khān Jahān as his deputies in the capital, went to Multān to put down the disturbances in that part of the country.<sup>2</sup> This was an opportunity for Husain. He took with him a well equipped army and marched upon Dehli (1468 A.D.). On his way some amīrs of Bahlūl /such as Ahmad Khān Mewāti and Rustam Khān, governor of Koil, attracted by his power, also joined him.<sup>3</sup> Bahlūl learned of this turn of events while still on his way to Multān. He quickly retraced his steps to Dehli to meet the invasion. The two Sultāns met at Chandwar <sup>4</sup>

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.307. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.445-46. Ni 'matullah, f.50a.
  2. Ni 'matullah, ff.50.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.306 and 307. Firishta, Vol.I, p.723. Tāhir, f.212a.
  4. Chandwar lies three miles west of Firūzābād on the left bank of Jumna in the present Agrā District, U.P. (27.7 N and 78.23 E). It is an ancient village and its ruins, strewn for miles, attest to its greatness in the past. Bahlūl at this time had gone to Multān to help Shaikh Yūsuf, the dispossessed ruler of Multān: The latter's son 'Abdullah was married to one of the daughters of Bahlūl. Bādshāh 'Abdullah's son born through Bahlūl's daughter, was Rukn ud-dīn and became Shaikh ul-Islam under Sikandar Lodī.

(1469 A.D.) and a violent battle took place, lasting a week and costing many lives on both sides. At last by the exertions of leaders on both sides, a truce was concluded to the effect that for three years both the Sultāns should be content with their previous boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain retired to Jaunpūr and Bahlūl to Dehli.

Yet Sultān Husain was hardly the person to remain content with this decision. His ambitious gaze was fixed on Dehli, and soon he started to strengthen his position again. As has been stated by Mushtāqī, he called for his Rāīs and Jamindars to provide him with forces and other equipment for his project against Bahlūl.<sup>2</sup> He was able to collect a great number of horses and elephants. He also organized a Top Khāna.<sup>3</sup> Further to strengthen his position he also won some other allies, such as Ahmad Khān Jilwānī, son of Yūsuf Khān Jilwānī, governor of Bayāna, who joined him and recited Khutba in his name.<sup>4</sup>

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.307. Firishta, Vol.I, p.324. Tāhir, f.212a.

2. Mushtāqī, Wāqī'āt, p.11 as well as Tārīkh, ff.6-7.

3. Tāhir, f.212a.

4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.307. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.308.

This alarmed Bahlūl, who as a counter-move invaded Mewāt to suppress Ahmad Khān Mewātī, a Sharqī ally, yet in spite of all his efforts he could not win. But the latter was pursued by Khān Jahān, one of the great nobles of Husain, to join his master's side.<sup>1</sup> When all his plans were completed he called for his chief noble, Malik Shams, for further counsel. The wise noble said,

"Although we have now a great number of soldiers at our disposal yet I feel we should not hurry in this matter."

He further suggested to Husain that this year they should encamp their forces along the border from where detachments could be sent to plunder and devastate the enemy's territories, so as to compel the people of the territory to join their side, thus strengthening their chances of success. The following year they would march upon Bahlūl. Bībī Khunza, the chief queen of Husain, who had been listening to the conversation from behind the curtain, said to her husband that these amīrs and chiefs were showing cowardice and were reluctant to go to the battlefield.<sup>2</sup> She insisted on her husband marching

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.308.

2. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, p.11. C.H.I., Vol.III, p.255 - incorrectly calls Bībī Khnuza's name as Jalila.

upon Dehli at once to seize the former throne of her father ('Alā ud-dīn 'Alam Shāh). Sultān Husain ignored the advice of his chief counsellor, and although the three year period of the last truce was not yet over, he advanced upon Dehli in the early part of 1469 A.D. with one hundred and forty thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Bahlūl hearing this intelligence was

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1. Most of our chroniclers differ on the number of elephants and horses. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, Vol.II, p.285. Nūr ul-Haqq, ff.375. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602 and Hasan, ff.419 agree on this number. Muhammad Kabīr, the author of Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff.15-18, states that Husain took with him one lakh horses and five hundred elephants. Jaunpūr Nāma mentions one lakh horsemant and one thousand elephants. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.308 has one lakh horsemen and one thousand elephants. Tāhir states that Sultān Husain took with him fifteen thousand horsemen. I have taken the mean number of both horses and elephants. Muhammad Kabīr, the author of Afsānah-i-Shāhān gives a very interesting and imaginative account of Husain's expedition against Bahlūl. According to him, Husain's queen persuaded him to acquire her father's (Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn 'Alam Shāh's) throne for her brothers from Bahlūl. Husain took with him one lakh cavalry and five hundred elephants, marched upon Dehli and, after defeating Bahlūl, ruled there for nine years. Then his queen again reminded him that he had conquered Dehli for her brothers and not for himself. After leaving his brothers-in-law in Dehli, he returned to Jaunpūr. But no sooner had he left than his brothers-in-law were again expelled by Bahlūl.

alarmed. Finding himself unable to face the powerful Sharqī army, he hastily sent a mission under Shāhzādah Muhammad Farmūlī and Kapūr Chand with rich presents to Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwah, requesting the latter for help against Sultān Husain. The Khaljī potentate was willing to render help, but expected a price for it. Bahlūl soon after sent another deputation including Qutb Khān Lodī and Rāī Kīrat Singh to place before Mahmūd the following facts:

"Sultān Husain Sharqī does not keep his hand from me. If His Majesty the Sultān comes to the neighbourhood of Dehli to help and reinforce me, and delivers me from the worries created by Husain, I would make over the fortress of Bayāna with its dependencies as a tribute at the time of Husain's return, and whenever the Sultān should advance in that direction I would send six thousand horsemen with the necessary equipment to wait on and accompany him."

Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī replied:

"Whenever Sultān Husain should advance towards Dehli I shall with great rapidity join you and support you."

Upon the conclusion of this agreement, Sultān Mahmūd Khaljī conferred robes of honour on the ambassadors and bade them farewell. But Khaljī Sultān could not act

upon this, as he died a month later on May 3, 1469 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Husain's army in the meanwhile had made triumphant progress, seizing a large part of the Dehli territory and conquering towns such as Koil and Bulandshar. Reaching the vicinity of Dehli, he encamped on the east bank of the Jamunā.<sup>2</sup> Bahlūl was greatly distressed and went to the shrine of Khawāja Qutb ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī where he remained all night standing bare-headed, praying.<sup>3</sup> Despairing of success, he made a humble and piteous appeal to Husain, saying that he agreed to cede the whole of his territory, retaining for himself only the city of Dehli and the tract of the country lying thirty-six miles

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1. Tabagāt, Vol.III, pp.248-49. Firishta, Vol.II, p.502. Hasan ff.419. All the three historians mention only one mission. R.C. Majumdar (The Sultanate of Dehli, p.192), however, states that contemporary records of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwah mention two successive missions, one on February 21, 1469 A.D. and the other on April 3, 1469.
  2. Tabagāt, Vol.III, p.285. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, ff.10-11. 'Abdullah, p.19, who copies Mushtāqī, ff.19. He further states that while Bahlūl was at his prayers in the morning a person appeared before him and gave him a wooden stick to hold in his hand and told him that he might drive away his enemy with it.
  3. Tabagāt, Vol.III, p.285. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602. 'A.Bāqī Vol.I, pp.105-6.

around it, which he would govern as a Sharqī vassal.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain's pride and haughtiness would not let him listen to these proposals. Sultān Bahlūl, who had himself regretted the offer as soon as he had made it, now decided to test his luck on the battlefield. He advanced from Dehli with not more than eighteen hundred horsemen and encamped in front of Sultān Husain's camp on the opposite bank of the Jamunā. As the river lay between the two armies neither of them was eager to risk a battle. In contempt of his opponent Sultān Husain neglected military precautions. He used to disperse his army for the purpose of plundering, denuding his own camp of troops.<sup>2</sup> Bahlūl, observing this situation, ordered his forces to cross the Jamunā at mid-day. This news was taken to Husain, but in his pride and haughtiness, he would not believe it. In the meanwhile his

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.285. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602.  
'A.Baqī, Vol.I, pp.105-6.

2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Both contradict each other. Firishta says that the chiefs of the army of Husain had gone plundering, whereas Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.285) states that Husain's forces had gone plundering. Firishta seems to be wrong.



camp was suddenly attacked.<sup>1</sup> As there was no force to oppose Bahlūl's army, Husain had to flee, leaving behind not only his camp but also his chief queen, Malika-ī-Jahān Bibī Khunza, together with other inmates of the harem, who all fell into enemy hands. His chief counsellor, Malik Shams, was killed. Bahlūl shortly afterwards sent back the queen with all respect and honour, and with the head of Malik Shams to Husain<sup>2</sup> (1470 A.D.).

In spite of this catastrophe Sultān Husain did not lose heart. His pride was again stimulated by his chief queen, Bibī Khunza, and in the following year (1471 A.D.) he again marched upon Dehli with one lakh cavalry and a thousand elephants.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Bahlūl came out to oppose him. When only a short space was left between the two advancing armies, Bahlūl sent an emissary to

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.285. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602. Hasan ff.41. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.106.
  2. Mushtāqī Wāqī'āt, p.12. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.286. Hasan ff.420. Firishta, op.cit. Mushtāqī is the only authority to mention Malik Shams being killed and later on his head being sent to Husain.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.II, p.308. Ni'mat Ullah, f.50b. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.476. Ni'mat Ullah writes that he took with him eleven hundred elephants.

Husain with the following message:

"Would the Sultān be pleased to pardon my offences and leave me in my present condition, for I shall one day be of use to him." <sup>1</sup>

Sultān Husain did not pay attention to this. Both took up battle positions at Bhatwāra. After a protracted contest peace was arranged through the mediation of Khān Jahān Lodī. Bahlūl <sup>2</sup> returned to Dehli and Husain went to Etāwah.

After an interval of about two years in 1470 A.D. Husain who was bent upon conquering Dehli, violating his agreement, again marched against Bahlūl. The latter also advanced from Dehli to oppose him. The antagonists met <sup>at</sup> Sikhera, <sup>3</sup> twenty-five miles from Dehli. <sup>4</sup>

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.286. Firishta, Vol.II, p.602.

2. Tabaqāt, Op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.308. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.50b and 51a. Hasan, f.420a. A.Baqī incorrectly writes Bhatwāra as Nehwāra. Firishta and Hasan are mistaken in stating that Husain was defeated in this battle. Ni'mat Ullah confuses this battle with the previous incident. Bhatwāra is a village in the Bulandshar tahsil and district. U.P. (vide U.P. Distt Gaz.)

3. Sikhera, a village in Bulandshar district, U.P. (vide U.P. District Gazette).

4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.308. Firishta, Vol.I, p.324. Ni'mat Ullah ff.50b and 51a. They mention the name of the place as Raisikhrā. This place is Sikhera, as mentioned above.

The battle raged for several days, but Husain's luck did not favour him. The rainy season hampered his plans and eventually fighting was terminated by an agreement. Bahlūl returned to Dehli, and Husain came back to Etāwah.<sup>1</sup>

At this critical juncture Husain had to face further sorrow and grief. While he was at Etāwah his mother, Malika Bībī Rājī, died.<sup>2</sup> Her death was a great loss, for she had been a sagacious lady to whom he often turned for advice. He was now left alone with no sincere well-wisher to counsel him.

Our chroniclers such as Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, Firishta and Ni'mat Ullah write that Qutb Khān, the wily Afghān, who was at that time at Chandwar, went to Gawālīor, and, taking along with him Rāja Kalyān Mal, went to Sultān Husain under the pretext of mourning the late Malika Bībī Rājī.<sup>3</sup> Qutb Khān on this occasion finding Sultān Husain inimical towards Sultān Bahlūl

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.308. Firishta, Vol.II, p.603. Badā'ūnī Vol.I, p.309.

2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, f.51a. Firishta, Vol.I, p.324.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.308. Firishta, Vol.II, p.603. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.308.

began to flatter him, and said:

"Bahlul is one of your servants. How can he claim equality with you? I shall not rest till I bring Dehli into your possession."

He then took leave of Sultān Husain and going back to Sultān Bahlūl, said:

"I have freed myself from the clutches of Husain by deception and plotting. I found him to be very strong in his hostility to you, you should look after yourself." 1

At this time (883/1478) Husain's father-in-law, Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh, the fugitive king, who was still holding his petty court at Badā'ūn, died. Husain went to Badā'ūn to join in the mourning for him. After the mourning ceremonies were over he seized Badā'ūn by ejecting his brothers-in-law.<sup>2</sup> He now went from there to Sambhal (in the modern Muradābād District, U.P.) and imprisoning its ruler, Mubārak Khān, son of Tātār Khān, occupied it.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Husain was now at the head of a

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.309. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.324-25. Ni'mat Ullah, f.51a.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.309. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.324-25. Ni'mat Ullah, f.51a. Badā'ūnī, ff.63-64.
  3. Tabaqāt. op.cit. Badā'ūnī, op.cit. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.16. Badā'ūnī is mistaken in stating Tātār Khān's name instead of Mubārak Khān.

huge army including one thousand elephants. Finding Bahlūl away in Sirhind, he turned his face towards Dehli and encamped on the banks of the Jamunā near the ford of Kachh<sup>1</sup> (Zulhijj 883/February-March,<sup>2</sup> 1478). Bahlūl learning this news quickly returned to Dehli. He now took up his army, crossed the Jamunā and attacked the Sharqīs. In the battle that followed, the Sharqīs, being numerically superior, gained the upper hand. Final victory went to Sultān Husain, and Bahlūl and his officers were reduced to a desperate plight. Our

1. Kachh (Badā'ūnī calls it Kichah, Firishta Kacheha and 'A. Bāqī Jūsā Vol.I, p.447) lies in Sambhal Sārkār. See Jarrett Ā'in, Vol.II, p.290. A. Halīm confuses this battle with the battle of 1470 A.D. He is mistaken in mentioning that Bahlūl begged help from Mahmūd Khaljī on this occasion. The latter had already died in 1469. Bahlūl begged help from Mahmūd Khaljī when Husain attacked him in 1469-70. Secondly A. Halīm is also mistaken in writing that queen Bībī Khunza threatened her husband that she would herself lead an army, if Husain failed to do so. This also happened at the battle of 1469-70 A.D. A. Halīm is further mistaken in writing that Husain encamped near the ford of Kachh on the banks of the Ganges. This ford, in fact, lies near the banks of the Jamunā. Halīm is also mistaken in mentioning Bahlūl's praying all night at the shrine of Khwāja Bakhtiyār Kākī. This also happened at the previous attack of Husain. A. Halīm: History of the Lodī Sultāns of Dehli and Agrā, pp.38-39.
2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.309. Firishta, Vol.I, p.385. Ni'mat Ullah, f.51b. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.309. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.447.

chroniclers write that at this critical juncture Qutb Khān Lodī's hypocrisy enabled him to save his kinsmen. He sent a message to Husain, begging peace and saying that he had been a slave of his mother, Bibī Rājī, who had done him many favours when he had been in prison at Jaunpūr. Thus invoking the memory of Bibī Rājī and appealing to filial affection, Qutb Khān was able to induce the invader to leave Dehli unmolested. Husain agreed to conclude peace, on the understanding that the territory to the east of the Ganges belonged to him and that of the west to Bahlūl.<sup>1</sup> After this arrangement Husain one night arranged a colourful party of music and dancing of which Muhammad Kabīr gives a scintillating description.<sup>2</sup> Qutb Khān who was the guest of honour at it, highly praised the party, and, flattering Husain, said how much more enjoyable it would be if it was arranged on the banks of the river. Husain who was a man of poetic and romantic nature as well, readily agreed,

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.309. Firishta, Vol.I, p.325. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, pp.447-48. 'Abdullah, p.19. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.16-17. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.309. Ni'mat Ullah, f.51b.

2. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff.20.

3. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff.20.

and ordered the party to be shifted according to Qutb Khān's suggestion. The Sharqī Sultān was once again in the trap of Bahlūl's spying cousin and, while the party was in full swing, Bahlūl fell upon Husain's camp.<sup>1</sup> He captured his baggage, stores and camp equipment, as well as a large number of elephants and horses laden with spoil and treasure. Forty of Husain's army officers, constituting the flower of the Sharqī nobility, such as Qāzī Samā-ud-dīn, wazīr, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and Buddha, deputy paymaster of the army, and many others like him were taken prisoner. Qāzī Samā-ud-dīn, also known as Qutlugh Khān, was put in chains in the charge of Qutb Khān Lodī and Bahlūl went in pursuit of Sultān Husain but the latter escaped on foot. His chief queen, Malika-i-Jahān was also taken prisoner, but Bahlul deputed eunuchs to serve her, and sent her back shortly afterwards to Sultān Husain with due honour.<sup>2</sup> Bahlūl's success turned the tide in his favour, and he was

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1. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff.20.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.309. Ni'mat Ullah, ff. 51-52. Badā'ūnī Vol.I, p.310. Firishta, Vol.I, p.325. 'Abdullah, p.19. Hasan, f.420a. Hasan mentions only the queen and her inmates being taken prisoners, and is silent about the rest. 'Abdullah incorrectly writes Qutlugh Khān's name as Qalij Khān.

now able to take possession of a number of parganas such as Kampil, Patiālī, Kol, Shamsābād, Māhrara, and Jalālī belonging to his rival.<sup>1</sup> He posted strong garrisons to these places and he himself continued his pursuit of Husain. Sultān Husain's pride compelled him to turn back and in the early part of 884/1479 he gave his Lodī opponent battle at a village called Rajhohar<sup>2</sup> in the jurisdiction of the Rāprī pargana, and was able, it seems to put up a bold show.<sup>3</sup> Eventually peace was concluded on condition that both the monarchs should remain content with the old boundaries.<sup>4</sup> Then

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.310. Firishta, op.cit. - omits Kol and for Jalālī writes Jalesar. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.310, and Ni'mat Ullah are silent about the names of these places. He simply states that Bahlūl went after him up to Shamsābād and took possession of Husain's parganas.
  2. Rajhohar lies sixteen miles south of the district city of Farrukhābād. Jarrett, Ā'in, Vol.II, p.183.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.310. Ni'mat Ullah, f.52b. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.325-26. Ni'mat Ullah is silent about the name of the place where actually the battle took place. Firishta incorrectly writes the name of this place Rām Finjrah and Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad Rām Majjūr.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, f.52b.



each of them returned to their respective territories, but Bahlūl stayed at Dhupāmāu and Husain at Rāprī.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Husain, however, could not long remain quiet after this defeat. He again collected a huge force to renew war in order to retrieve his honour. Malika-ī-Jahān, who had been restored to him further incited him to avenge his honour and that of his chiefs. Bahlūl's treachery had deeply angered him. So with all odds against him and despite the advice of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Ghanī, Husain embarked upon the perilous venture in the following year (885/1480-81). The Lodī and the Sharqī armies met at Sonhār,<sup>2</sup> but Husain's luck again failed him and he suffered the worst defeat of his career so far.<sup>3</sup> Bahlūl plundered his camp and military equipment and an invaluable quantity of wealth also fell into his hands. Husain was again forced to fall back to Rāprī, and Bahlūl encamped at Dhupāmāu.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.310.

2. Sonhār is the chief village of the pargana of the same name in Etah district, U.P. It lies ten miles north-east of Sakit. Etah District Gaz., p.161.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.310. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.225-26. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.310-11. 'Abdullah, p.19.

4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.310-11.

Bahlūl was a little upset at that time because of the death of his capable wazīr, Khān Jahān Lodī, but as he had greatly increased his power and resources at the cost of his opponent, Husain, he was determined to destroy Husain completely. Despite the fact that Husain was overwhelmed by his misfortunes he came forward to oppose his formidable enemy. A severe battle took place near Sirsa in which Husain was defeated and forced to take flight (1482 A.D.). In the course of flight while he was crossing the Jamunā some of his sons and members of his family were swept away, causing him boundless distress and grief.<sup>1</sup> In great agony and torment he decided to go to his vassal, Rāja of Gawālīor, to get help. While he was on his way in the neighbourhood of Hatkant<sup>2</sup> a band of Bhadauryas<sup>3</sup> further attacked and

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.310. Firishta, Vol.II, p.326. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.310-11. Ni'mat Ullah, f.52a. Sirsa lies near Rāprī where Sultān Husain had encamped his forces. See Jaunpūr D.G., p.161.

2. Hatkant is now an insignificant village on the banks of the Chambal in the district of Tahsil Agra, UP.

3. <sup>the</sup> Bhadauryas' stronghold was Hatkant. As Abul Fazl mentioned they were known as daring robbers and though near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant.

plundered his camp.<sup>1</sup> He, however, reached Gawālīor, where his old vassal Rāja Kirāt Singh received him with all honour and esteem, as he still retained confidence in his cause. The Rāja offered him a tribute of several lakhs of tankas in cash and also provided him with horses, elephants, camels and a contingent of troops, and personally accompanied him as far as Rangāon near Kālpī.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand Bahlūl started for Etāwah in order to reduce it. Husain's brother, Ibrāhīm Khān, the governor of Etāwah, and his officers Haibat Khān Gurgandāz and Malik Kākar, fortified themselves and fought for three days. Eventually they sued for peace and surrendered the fort (1482). Bahlūl conferred this place upon Ibrāhīm, son of Mubārak Khān Nuhānī, and gave some of its parganas to Rāī Dandū as

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- p.310.
1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.310. Ni'mat Ullah, f.52b. Badā'ūnī does not mention this incident.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.311. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.310-11. Both mention that Rāja Kirāt Singh came to see him off up to Rāprī, whereas Rangāon is mentioned in D.G. Jaunpūr, p.161. Badā'ūnī incorrectly mentions the name of Rāja Kirāt Singh as Rāī Singh. Rangāon is now an insignificant village in Bilhaur tahsil, Kanpur District, U.P.

his reward.<sup>1</sup> Bahlūl now proceeded in person to attack Husain who had been already busy preparing for the inevitable conflict and was encamped at Rangam on the Ganges. When Bahlūl arrived at the village of Rangāon, Sultān Husain also advanced to meet him. He still had a strong force and Bahlūl found little comfort from the skirmishes which continued for several months from the opposite banks of the Ganges (886-87/1481-82). But the situation changed completely with the treachery of Rāja Tilok Chand, governor of Baksar,<sup>2</sup> on behalf of Sultān Husain, who guided Bahlūl to a ford to cross the river.<sup>3</sup> Husain was outmanoeuvred and retreated to the territory of Bhattah<sup>4</sup> (Rewa). The Rāja of Bhattah welcomed him,

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- p.310.
1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I./ Firishta, Vol.I, p.326. 'Abdullah, p.20. 'A. Bāqī, Vol.I, p.449. Badā'ūnī does not mention this incident. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad and 'A. Bāqī are mistaken in calling Rāī Dandū Rāī Dand', and so is Firishta who calls him Dandwah.
  2. Baksar is in the pargana Daundiā Khera, Tirwa tahsil Unāo district, U.P. It lies thirty-two miles S.E. of Unāo town.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.311. Firishta, Vol.II, p.316. 'Abdullah, p.20.
  4. Bhattah or Bhat. This place now corresponds to the former state of Rewā in Baghel Khund with Bāndhogarh as its capital. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.311 incorrectly writes Bhattah as Patna and 'Abdullah as Pannā.

and presented several lakhs of tankas, a hundred horses and elephants and escorted him at the head of his army to Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Husain again collected a large force and went to seek spiritual help from the great saint, Bandgī Mīān Budī, for the next campaign, but the saint gave him bad omens.<sup>2</sup> Bahlul was still pursuing him and when the former reached the vicinity of Jaunpūr, Husain, finding his position weak, abandoned the capital and by way of Bahrāich retired to Kanauj. Bahlul also followed him by the same route. Husain who was driven from pillar to post now decided at last to give him battle on the banks of <sup>the</sup> Rāhab, i.e. Kālī Nadī <sup>3</sup> (886-7/1481-82). The bitterly fought battle went against Husain. He suffered heavy losses and even his regalia and paraphernalia of empire fell into enemy hands. His queen, Bibī Khunza, was once again taken prisoner. She, however, was able

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol. I, p. 311. 'Abdullah, op.cit.

2. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff. 17-18.

3. Rāhab, 'Abī-Siyāh, i.e. Kālī Nadī joins the Ganges ten miles above Kanauj.

to manage by some stratagem to obtain her release, and returned to her husband.<sup>1</sup> Bahlūl, flushed with success, directed his attention towards subjugating the Jaunpūr territories, and brought most of them under his control (888/1483). He now once again advanced upon Jaunpūr which easily fell into his hands (888/1483-84).<sup>2</sup> Bahlūl put Jaunpur in charge of Mubārak Khān Nūhānāi, but left an outpost in the township of Mijhaulī<sup>3</sup> with Qutb Khān Lodī, son of Khān Jahān Lodī, and other nobles, and proceeded to Badā'ūn.<sup>4</sup> Husain made one more desperate bid to recover his lost dominions. He marched in full force to Jaunpūr, upon which the Lodī governor, Mubārak Khān, and other Lodī officers fell back from Jaunpūr to Mijhaulī.<sup>5</sup> Finding their position weak, they started

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.312. Ni'mat Ullah, f.53a. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.326-27. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.311. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.27. The latter is wrong to state that Bahlūl sent back the Sharqī queen with great honour and respect.
  2. The conquest of Jaunpūr may be assigned to 888/1483-84, the year in which Bahlūl issued coins from Jaunpūr, J.A.S.B., 1922. Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVI, P.N.17.
  3. Mijhaulī is a village in the Gorakhpūr district, U.P. It is situated on the left bank of the Gandak.
  4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312. Ni'mat Ullah, f.53a.
  5. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.

overtures and continued temporising with Husain until Qutb Khān Lodī, son of Khān Jahān Lodī arrived with reinforcements.<sup>1</sup> Bahlūl further sent his son, Bārbak Shāh, to their assistance and also followed the latter in person.<sup>2</sup> When he reached the town of Haldī,<sup>3</sup> he heard the news of Qutb Khān Lodī, his cousin, brother-in-law and wazīr's death, whereupon he went to Dehli for condolence.<sup>4</sup> From Dehli Bahlūl once more marched on Jaunpūr. Sultān Husain being unable to oppose him retreated to Bihār.<sup>5</sup> Bahlūl followed Husain along the river Gandak as far as Haldī in the Balīa district, but could not overtake him. Finally Sultān Husain was permitted by Bahlūl to hold as his family estate a small tract around Chunār which yielded him five lakhs of tankas annually.<sup>6</sup> Bahlūl

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312.

3. Haldī is situated on the right bank of the Ganges in the Rasra tahsil, the district of Balīa, U.P. Imperial Gazette Vol.XIII, p.10.

4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312.

5. Ibid. Firishta, Vol.I, p.327. 'Abdullah, p.20. Badā'ūnī Vol.I, p.312. Ni'mat Ullah, f.63b.

6. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol.II, p.603. Firishta writes five Krore, which seems to be wrong. Chunār lies on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mirzāpūr District and is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name.

placed his son, Bārbak Shāh, on the Sharqī throne and allowed him to issue coins. He himself marched on Kālpī,<sup>1</sup> which he presently annexed and assigned to Ā'zam Humāyūn (son of Shahzādah Bāyazīd, son of Bahlūl).<sup>2</sup> Then he advanced upon Dholpūr, where the Rāja, a Sharqī vassal, welcomed and escorted him and presented him with a few mans (maunds) of gold.<sup>3</sup> From Dholpūr the Sultān proceeded to Būrī,<sup>4</sup> where governor, Iqbāl Khān, also submitted, and presented him a few maunds of gold.<sup>5</sup> Next Bahlul attacked and destroyed the city of Alhanpūr<sup>6</sup> in Rantambhor,<sup>7</sup> which was part of the kingdom of Mālwah

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312. Kālpī lies on (268 N. and 79.4 S.E.) the reavines of the Jamunā in the present Jalāun District (U.P.) twenty-two miles from the town of Jalāun. Imperial Gazette, U.P. District Gazette, Vol.XXV, p.175. The old Kālpī pargana, however, included many parganas of the present Kānpūr District (U.P.).
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312. Firishta, Vol.I, p.327. Ni'mat Ullah, f.53b. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.312.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.53b and 54a.
  4. Bārī lies nineteen miles west of Dholpūr Railway Station and forty-five miles S.W. of Agrā. It is the headquarters of the district of the same name in the state of Dholpūr.
  5. Tabaqāt, op.cit.
  6. The City of Alhanpūr was the headquarters of the pargana of the same name in Rantambhor, Sarkar Jaerrett Ā'in, Vol. II, p.274.
  7. The town of Rantambhor lies in the present state of Jaipūr in Rajpūtāna.



(889/1484), but afterwards Sultān Ghiyās ud-dīn Khaljī was compelled to purchase peace by sending presents and gifts. Perhaps he also paid reparation for damages.<sup>1</sup> He then returned to Dehli.

While Bahlūl was busy in occupying the aforesaid territories, Husain taking advantage of his absence, fell upon Bārbak Shāh, who could not withstand him and was compelled to surrender the city. The news reached Bahlūl when he was on his way to the capital. He collected a large force and turned back to reinstate Bārbah Shāh. Husain sent his nephew, Jalāl Khān, with a body of 30,000 efficient cavalry to oppose Bahlūl near Kālpī, and also followed Jalāl Khān in person. When Bahlūl reached Kālpī he found that the way to Jaunpūr was blocked by the enemy. Despite opposition he was able to force a crossing of the Ganges. Bahlūl now divided his forces into two divisions. One division, composed of 15,000 horses, was placed under the command of Ahmad Khān and Qutb Khān with orders to effect an ambushade. The other division, composed of 5,000 horses, was placed under the command of Daulat Khān to face the Sharqī forces. The

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1. Tabagāt, Vol.I, p.312. Firishta, Vol.I, p.327. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.53-54.

second division was to retreat in an orderly way on Sultan Husain's launching the offensive, and thus decoy him to the spot where the other 15,000 horsemen lay in ambush. In this way Sultān Husain's forces were to be wedged inbetween. The assailants were to close the road from both sides and launch a determined attack upon the Sharqīs. As a result the latter were massacred in large numbers and <sup>their</sup> thirty elephants and many horses and a good amount of booty fell into the hands of the Lodīs. Husain, being helpless, again fled to Bihār. Bahlūl went to Jaunpūr to reinstate Bārbak Shāh and then returned to Dehli.<sup>1</sup>

In 894/1488 Bahlūl again attacked Gawālīor, where Rāja Mān Singh submitted to him and presented him with a sum of eighty lakhs of tankas.<sup>2</sup> From there he went to subdue Etāwah. Afterwards, while he was on his way to Dehli, he fell ill from excessive heat and died near the village of Milā'ulī in the jurisdiction of the

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1. Ahmed Yādgār, Tārīkh-i-Salatīn-i-Afghānān, ff.18.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.312. Firishta, Vol.I, p.327. Ni'mat Ullah, f.54a. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.312.

Sakīṭ Pargana <sup>1</sup> (12 July, 1489).

At the time of Sultān Bahlūl's death his son and heir, Shahzādah Nizām Khān, was in Dehli. He at once proceeded to Jalālī and sent his father's corpse to Dehli. Then with the consent of Khān-i-Jahān, Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī and all his father's amīrs, he ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Sikandar Shāh. His coronation took place on 17th Sha'bān 894/ 16 July, 1489, on a spot known as Sultān Fīrūz Shāh's hunting pavilion situated on the bank of the Kālī Nadī near Jalālī.<sup>2</sup> His accession was not accepted by his brother, 'Ālam Khān, while many other amīrs such as 'Isa Khān, Tātār Khān Lodī were in favour of Bārbak Shāh,

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- p.312.
1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I./ Firishta, Vol.I, p.328. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. 'Abdullah, pp.20-21. Nizām ud-dīn (Tabaqāt) mentions the place of his death as Tilāwālī; Ni'mat Ullah as Malāwālī; Firishta as Bhadā'ulī; 'Abdullah as Jalālī and Badā'unī simply mentions that he died in the neighbourhood of Sakītpūr. Actually this place is a village, Milā'ulī, in the Etah District about fifteen miles north of Sakīṭ on the Etah-Aliganj road. Milā'ulī is clearly written in the MS. of Makhzan-i-Afghānī, and also in the MS. of Tabaqāt. Also see A. Halīm, The History of the Lodī Sultāns of Dehli and Āgrā, pp.49-50.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.314. Ni'mat Ullah, f.54b.

on account of the greater purity of his blood.<sup>1</sup> This was an alarming situation for Sikandar who at once demanded their homage. He sent Ismā'īl Khān Nūhānī to Bārbak Shāh to settle the affair, but the latter declared his independence and rose against him.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Husain Sharqī also induced him to advance on Dehli and seize his Father's kingdom for himself. With this intention Bārbak Shāh advanced from Janupūr to Dehli. Sikandar Lodī suppressed the prince's partisans in Dehli and then advanced to attack Bārbak Shāh near Kanauj. Bārbak Shāh being deserted by his ally Rāī Ganesh, was defeated and fled to Badā'ūn. Sikandar pursued and captured him. Bārbak Shāh now made his submission with great humility.<sup>3</sup> Knowing that Husain was still planning and conspiring with the local chieftains for the recovery of his throne, Sikandar again

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1. There was considerable opposition to the accession of Sultān Sikandar, owing to his mother having been a goldsmith's daughter: but Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī espoused his cause. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.315-16. Firishta, Vol.I, p.371.
  2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, f.55a. 'Abdullah, p.45. Mirāt-i-'Ālam, ff.246.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.316. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.55. Firishta, Vol.I, p.331. 'Abdullah, p.45. Firishta incorrectly calls Rāī Kans, i.e. Ganesh, as Rāī Kilan.

put Bārbak in charge of Jaunpūr. But at the same time he assigned some of the parganas of Jaunpūr to his favourite amīrs, whom he appointed to keep a watch on the ambitious Bārbak, in order to impose upon him some sort of check.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain was still hopeful, as many <sup>a</sup>zīmīndars of Jaunpūr and chieftains of his former dominions were still loyal to him. Whenever Sikandar was busy in other parts of his kingdom, Husain tried to create disaffection among the <sup>a</sup>zīmīndars and Rājput chieftains of the territory, and influence them in his favour. By 1489-90 A.D. he was able to gather considerable strength. He now fomented large-scale insurrections throughout the Jaunpūr country. Jūgā, a Bachgotī <sup>2</sup> Rājput, finally rose in his cause and collecting a force of two hundred thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen thousand horsemen fell upon Sher Khān, the governor of Kara, killed him and occupied the place.<sup>3</sup> He now advanced upon Mubārak Khān

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.316. Abdullah, op.45. Ni'mat Ullah, f.55b.
2. The Bachgotis are a tribe of Mainpūrī Chauhāns, living on the borders of Jaunpūr and Gorakhpūr, and notorious for their turbulence. See Elliot, Memoirs of the Races of the North West Provinces, Vol.I, p.47.
3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.17. Ni'mat Ullah, f.56b. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. Ni'mat Ullah does not mention the name of Jūgā as leader of the force. Firishta does not mention about the Bachgotīs.

Nuhānī, brother of Sher Khān, who also fled, but Jūgā captured him while he was crossing the river, and he was imprisoned by Rāī Bhīd, the ruler of Bhattah.<sup>1</sup>

Jūgā, after thus defeating the neighbouring Lodī amīrs, finally advanced upon Bārbak. The latter being unable to stand against him vacated Jaunpūr and fled to Muhammad Khān Farmalī, known as Kālā Phār at Daryāābād<sup>2</sup> (in the modern Bāra Bānkī district). Sultān Sikandar now marched with a large force towards Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> When he reached the town of Dalmaū, he was received by Bārbak and those amīrs who had been ousted from their respective Jāgīrs by the Bachgotī chief Jūgā.<sup>4</sup> (1491 A.D.). Taking them along, he proceeded towards the enemy. Hearing of his advance, Rāī Bhīd released Mubārak Khān Nūhānī and the latter also joined Sikandar.<sup>5</sup> Then Sikandar marched

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.317. Ni'mat Ullah, f.56b. 'Abdullah, f.46. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. 'A.Baqī, Vol.I, p.455. Firishta incorrectly mentions the name of Rāī Bhīd as Shehdev Rāja. 'A.Baqī is also mistaken in mentioning him as Rāī Bathind.

2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, f.56b.

3. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.46. Mushtaqi Waqī'at ff.20.

4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.

5. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. Ni'mat Ullah, ff.56-57.

towards Kāthgarh,<sup>1</sup> where he was opposed by a huge assembled force of zimāndars, still loyal to the cause of the Sharqī Sultān. A hotly contested engagement took place in which the zimāndars were defeated and an enormous booty fell into Lodī hands. Thus Sikandar was able to reach Jaunpūr where he once again installed his brother, Bārbak.<sup>2</sup>

Sikandar Lodī next decided to quell the Rājput rebels' Jūgā chief. The latter still commanded fifteen thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot-soldiers, a formidable force, which could be a positive source of disturbance for the rest of the country.<sup>3</sup> Sikandar proceeded in search of the Jūgā chief to the bank of the Gūmtī, but all attempts to trace him proved unavailing. At last some gardeners led Sikandar to the hide-out of Jūgā.<sup>4</sup> Jūgā, hearing the news that

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1. Kāthgarh or Kātgarh is now a small village in the Dalmaū Pargana, Rāī Bareilī district. U.P. District. Gazette, p.137.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.317. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57a.

3. Mushtāqī Waqī'āt, p.20.

4. 'Abdullah, p.46 is mistaken in writing the name of the river Gūmtī as Koī.

his enemy had the advantage over him, became so frightened that, according to Mushtāqī, he even left his shoes behind and fled to Sultān Husain who was already awaiting him in fort of Jaund.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Sikandar went in pursuit, but, hearing the news that the Sharqī Sultān was in the fort, stopped his march and encamped his forces in the vicinity. From there he sent a message to Sultan Husain to the following effect:

"My main purpose for coming over to this place is to punish Jūgā, who has committed great sins. Either he should be arrested and sent to me, or you may give him proper punishment on my behalf." 2

Mushtāqī and 'Abdullah say that Sultān Husain Sharqī sent back a reply through one of his great nobles, Mīr Sayyid Khān, to this effect:

"Jūgā is my servant; and your father was a soldier with whom I had been measuring swords. You are merely a silly child to me and if you talk nonsense I will beat you with shoes rather than with a sword." 3

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1. Mushtāqī Waqī'āt, p.20. Jaund or Chaund is Chandaragarh, in the Aurangābād subdivision, Gayā District, Bihār.
  2. 'Abdullah, p.47. Mushtāqī Waqī'āt, ff.21.
  3. 'Abdullah, pp.46-47. Mushtāqī Waqī'āt, ff.20. The latter does not mention the name of the messenger.



Sultān Sikandar told Mīr Sayyid Khān to go back and convince Husain that he did not want to shed the blood of the Muslims in vain just to punish the one Kāfir. It was better that Husain should hand Jūgā over to him or undertake to chastise him himself. But Mīr Sayyid Khān pleading his helplessness in this matter, returned to Husain.<sup>1</sup>

Sultān Sikandar now held a council of war which favoured an attack on the enemy.<sup>2</sup> 'Abdullah writes that Sikandar disposed his forces so that in the centre were Lodīs and Shāhūr Khails, on the right and left were Farmalīs and Nuhānīs, and in the rear were Shirwānīs. 'Umar Khān Sherwānī was leading the vanguard. Sultān Sikandar himself took position on an elephant.<sup>3</sup> In this manner the Lodī force advanced upon the fort of Jaund, where the Sharqīs were stationed. Sultān Husain led his forces out of the fort to oppose the enemy. The armies met at Kāthgarh and fought a contested action<sup>4</sup>

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1. 'Abdullah, pp.20-21. Mushtāqī, op.cit. pp.20-21. Waqī'at, ff.20.

2. 'Abdullah, pp.47-48. Mushtāqī, Waqī'at, ff.22.

3. 'Abdullah, p.47.

4. Ibid.

(1492 A.D.). Husain was defeated and he fled to Bihār.<sup>1</sup> A good part of his force and many officers including the emissary, Mīr Sayyid Khān, fell into the hands of the Lodīs.<sup>2</sup> When Sultān Sikandar saw Mīr Sayyid Khān coming on foot as well as bare-headed, he gave orders at once to provide him with a horse and a turban.<sup>3</sup> Other Sharqī prisoners were also shown due consideration.<sup>4</sup> Sikandar then went to Jaunpūr and leaving Bārbak Shāh there, returned to Dehli.<sup>5</sup>

The zimīndars and local rajput chiefs, who repeatedly favoured their Sharqī Lord against the Lodīs once again conspired to expel Bārbak Shāh from Jaunpūr. There was, of course, no lack of encouragement from Sultān Husain. No sooner had Sikandar left Jaunpūr than they again rose against Bārbak. The latter could not maintain his position against their formidable opposition and soon rebellion broke out throughout the country.

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1. 'Abdullah, p.47.

2. Ibid, p.48.

3. Ibid, p.48.

4. Ibid, p.48.

5. Ibid.

Bārbak Shāh could not quell it and was ousted from Jaunpūr. Sultān Sikandar had hardly reached Kātgār when he heard Bārbak had proved incapable of maintaining his position in Jaunpūr and had been expelled by the zimāndars and local <sup>l</sup>rajpūt chiefs.<sup>1</sup> He sent Muhammad Qurbān Farmalī (Kala-pahār), A'zam Humāyūn, Khān Jahān and Khān-i-Khānān Nūhānī by way of Awadh, and Mubārak Khān by way of Kara to arrest Bārbak.<sup>2</sup> They seized him and in compliance with the order brought him before Sikandar, who placed him finally in the custody of Haibat Khān Sherwānī and 'Umar Khān, virtually as a state prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Husain was still holding the territory on the southern side of the Ganges, including Chunār, Cherānd and Bihār. Sikandar understanding that Husain's intrigues with and influence upon the local chiefs were the main reason for the instability of Lodī power at

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.317-18. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57a.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.317-18. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57a. Mirāt ul-'Alam, ff.246. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt) is mistaken in writing that Mubārak Khān was sent via Agra instead of Kara.
  3. R.R. Diwakar, Bihār Through the Ages, p.396.

Jaunpūr, determined to expel the former from his remaining kingdom. The first objective was Chunār,<sup>1</sup> which was the great centre of anti-Lodī activities. Mubārak Khān was assigned to bring about its reduction. Khwāja, the Sharqī governor of the fort of Chunār, informed Husain of the Lodī move. At this Husain sent to his help another Rajpūt chieftain with a large well-trained force. The rival forces fought west of Chunār (1493 A.D.). The Lodīs were badly defeated and Mubārak Khān was badly wounded, but was captured and made prisoner of Rāja Bhīd.<sup>2</sup> This reverse shocked Sikandar who now decided to attack the fort personally. The Sharqī chiefs who were in occupation of the place shut themselves up inside the fort, and the Lodī Sultān failed to make any impression on the noble fortress.<sup>3</sup> Instead of prolonging the strife here, Sikandar turned his forces towards the country of Bhattah to punish Rāja Bhīd (1494 A.D.) who had imprisoned his noble, Mubārak Khān. The

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1. Chunār lies on the right bank of the Ganges and is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in the Mizāpūr District, U.P.

2. Afsānāh-i-Shāhān, ff.25-26.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.318. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57a. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.456. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332.

Rāja, alarmed, released Mubārak Khān and fled to join Sultān Husain.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Sikandar, instead of pursuing Rāja Bhīd, went to Arāil<sup>2</sup> and Prayāg and destroyed the cultivation and orchards of that country. He now returned to Kara and Dalmaū. After this he went to Shamsābād and stayed there for six months. He finally returned to the capital and during the march he destroyed the villages from Madmaū to Koil, which had been the haunt of the dissatisfied elements, and put most of these to the sword.<sup>3</sup>

In 1494 A.D. Sultān Sikandar again proceeded towards Bihār to attack Rāja Bhīd of Bhattah, the strong ally of Husain.<sup>4</sup> On the way he laid waste the villages

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.318.

2. Arāil, an ancient village lies opposite the Allahābād fort on the right bank of the Jamunā at its confluence with the Ganges.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.318. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57b. At Dalmaū, Sikandar Lodī married the widow of Sher Khān Nūhānī, a most beautiful and accomplished woman of the time.

4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.323-33. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.314-15. Firishta is mistaken in writing his name Rāja Rāi Balbandra. Tabaqāt is also mistaken in calling him Rāja of Patna. Badā'ūnī does not mention his name and also incorrectly mentions his territory as that of Patna.

which were still favouring the cause of the Sharqī Sultān. When he reached Kahal pass Narsingh Deo, the son of Rāja Bhīd, came forward to oppose him.<sup>1</sup> Bhīd was defeated and fled to Bhattah. Sultān Sikandar pursued him in order to attack Bhattah, upon which Rāja Bhīd also fled towards the village of Sargujah.<sup>2</sup> Narsingh, however, died on the way.<sup>3</sup>

Sikandar now returned towards Phaphund,<sup>4</sup> one of

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.318-19. Firishta, Vol.I, p.332-33. Ni'mat Ullah, f.57b. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad gives the name of the place as Khāran Gāti, and Ni'mat Ullah as Kamāngati. This place is known nowadays as the Kahal pass. Secondly, Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad (Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19), Firishta, (Vol.I, pp.332-33) both state that the name of the son of Rāja Bhīd was Narsingh, whereas Ni'mat Ullah (f.57b) calls him Bīr Singh but according to the Sanskrit chroniclers his name was Vahārarāya Deva. See K.S. Lāl, Twilight of the Sultanate, p.170. Perhaps he is the same person who founded the city of Bhīr Singhpur, in the State of Panna.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, pp.318-19 calls this place Sarkanjah, Firishta, Vol.I, pp.332-33, Sakachh and Ni'mat Ullah (f.57b) Sargujah.
  3. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19. Firishta, op.cit.
  4. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19, mentions that Sikandar's march from Sarjugah to Saundah, seems to be very improbable. Saundah is situated far away beyond the pass, and Sikandar had nothing to gain by pursuing him in an unknown country. Phahund is a small village quite nearby, which is situated twenty miles north of Bāndhogarh.

the dependencies of Bhattah. Here koknār salt and oil became extremely dear, and Sikandar suffered very heavy losses for want of provisions as well as owing to the bad roads.<sup>1</sup> His cavalry was decimated by famine and disease. Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad writes that ninety per cent of the horses were lost.<sup>2</sup> This was a golden opportunity for Husain and his allies, the Rājput chieftains, to demolish their formidable enemy. Rāī Lakshmi Chānd, son of Rāī Bhīd and all the zimindars informed the Sharqī Sultān that Sikandar was short of provisions and horses, and it was a great opportunity for Husain to recover his ancestral dominions. Sultān Husain, having assembled his forces and one hundred elephants, left Bihār in order to attack Sikandar.<sup>3</sup> On the way the Rājput chieftains, his allies, also joined him. Learning of Husain's

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.332-33. Ni'mat Ullah f.58b.

2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, pp.318-19.

3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. 'Abdullah, p.53. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.316. Ni'mat Ullah, f.58a. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.457. Jaunpur Nāma pp.18-19 is silent about elephants, and also incorrectly states that Husain attacked Sikandar with the help of the army of the Bengālī ruler. Firishta incorrectly mentions that Sikandar instead of Lakshmi Chānd invited Husain.

growing power, Sikandar, to strengthen his position by winning some of the Rajpūt chiefs, posted Khān-i-Khānān to Sālīvāhan, brother of Rāja Bhīd. The former won him with promises of great favours,<sup>1</sup> Sultān Sikandar now hastily crossed the Ganges by the Kantit ford, and came via Chunār to Benāres, towards which place Husain was also moving. Both the armies met thirty-six miles away from Benāres, and a fierce battle took place (1494 A.D.). Husain was defeated disastrously and fled towards the country of Bhattah.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar~~d~~ pursued him for nine days, and when he heard that Husain had retreated to Bihār, he came back, and rejoined his camp.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Sikandar was still afraid of Husain, so he

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.319. 'Abdullah, p.53. Ni'mat Ullah, f.58a. Firishta, Vol.I, p.333. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.316. Persian chroniclers are mistaken in mentioning Sālīvāhan as son of Rāja Bhīd. He was a brother of the latter, see K.S. Lāl, Twilight of the Sultanate, p.171.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.319. Firishta, Vol.I, p.313. Ni'mat Ullah, f.58a. Tabaqāt writes eighteen Karhos, Firishta and Ni'mat Ullah thirteen Karohs; 'Abdullah thirteen Karohs. I have followed Tabaqāt.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.



resumed his pursuit. Learning of this, Husain left Malik Kāndū in the citadel of Bihār and retired to Colgong,<sup>1</sup> a dependency of Lakhnautī (Bengal).<sup>2</sup> Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Husain Shāh (1493-1518) the king of Lakhnautī, whose daughter was married to Sultān Husain Sharqī's son Jalāl Khān, received him with great pomp and ceremony. He provided him with every comfort, allotted him the Pargana of Colgong for his livelihood, privileged him even to coin money and also promised him help in his future plans.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Sikandar, now encamped at Deobār,<sup>4</sup>

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1. Colgong, i.e. Kohlgāon town in Persian histories is a station on the E.I. Railway, 245 miles from Calcutta. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges, in the Bhāgalpūr district, Bihār.
  2. Badā'unī, Vol.I, p.316. Hādī, f.98b. 'Abdullah, ff.53. is silent about Malik Kāndū. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, f.29b writes that on this occasion some of the sufīs and scholars, such as Shaikh 'Abdullah, left Husain and returned to Jaunpūr.
  3. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, op.cit. Khair ud-dīn Muhammad (Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.19-20) and Firishta are both wrong to write that Husain Shāh Bengālī had no male issue. He, in fact, left eighteen sons who survived him.
  4. Deobār is perhaps Dewār, a village in the extreme N.E. of the Bettiah sub-division of the Champāran District, Bihār.

deputed a force against Malik Kāndū, who could not withstand it and fled. The citadel fell into the hands of Sikandar's officers and thus Bihār was also finally annexed to the Lodī Empire (901/1495).<sup>1</sup> Leaving there Mubārak Khān Nūhānī with some nobles for the future security of the place, Sikandar returned to Darweshpūr.<sup>2</sup> He now planned to start a campaign against 'Alā ud-dīn Husain Shāh, king of Bengal, who had given shelter to Husain Sharqī. But before setting out on this campaign, he decided to suppress the neighbouring chieftains who had always been a great source of help to the Sharqī Sultān. For a few months he remained busy with this task. He also reduced to submission the Rāja of Tirhut, who was made to pay several lakhs of tankas as a tribute.<sup>3</sup> He appointed Mubārak Khān to collect this tribute, while he himself returned to Darweshpūr to join the army headquarters. From this place Sikandar went to visit the tomb of Shaikh Sharf ud-dīn Yahyā Munīrī, perhaps on the

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1. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.320. 'A.Bāqī, Vol.I, p.459. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.333-34.

2. Darweshpūr is situated near Maner in Sherpūr tahsil Patna district.

3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. Ni'mat Ullah, op.cit.

occasion of the annual festival ('Urs') held at Bihār on the 5th Shaw-wāl each year.<sup>1</sup> He next returned to Darweshpūr, where he received the news of the death of Khān Jahān, his wazīr, on the 16th of Shaw-wāl 901/29th June, 1496.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar dubbed his son Ā'zam Humāyūn.

From Darweshpūr Sikandar marched against Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn of Bengal, who had sheltered Husain. Reaching Tughluqpūr<sup>3</sup> near the Bengal frontier, he encamped his forces to make all the necessary arrangements for the invasion. 'Alā ud-dīn Husain Shāh fully realized the threat to his security from the establishment of the strong aggressive Lodī power across the frontier in Bengal. Instead of waiting at the capital for his invader he sent a strong force under his son Dānyāl to meet him.<sup>4</sup> Sultān

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1. Shaikh Sharf ud-dīn was a celebrated saint of the Chishtiya Order and a forceful writer of Persian, Hindi and Purbi. Bihār, headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in the Patna district, is a very ancient town. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VII, p.17.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.320. Firishta, Vol.I, pp.333-34.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Tughluqpur named after Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq, I, lies in Tirhut. Wright, H.N., The Coinage Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit. Firishta, op.cit. is mistaken to write Tughluqpūr as Qutluqpūr.

Sikandar deputed Mahmūd Khān Lodī and Mubārak Khān Nūhānī to oppose him. The armies confronted each other (1496 A.D.) at Bārḥ,<sup>1</sup> but no engagement took place, and finally negotiations for peace were opened.<sup>2</sup> It was settled <sup>on</sup> that the two monarchs would not trespass/or interfere with each other's kingdoms, nor give shelter to their enemies.<sup>3</sup> After the settlement Sikandar put Ā'zam Humāyūn in command of Darweshpūr and Darya Khān Nūhānī in command of Bihār, while he himself returned to Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> There he stayed for six months and employed himself in destroying all the traces of Sharqī rule, razing to the ground the great palaces of the Sharqī kings, their gardens, and everything connected with their name. The mosques were only saved by the protestation of the 'Ulāmā of Jaunpūr.<sup>5</sup> (903/1497).

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1. Bārḥ town lies in the Patna District, Bihār, on the E.I. Railway, 229 miles from Calcutta, is a very ancient town. Imperial Gazette, Vol.VII, pp.15-17.
  2. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.320. Firishta, Vol.I, p.334. Ni'mat Ullah, f.58b.
  3. Tabaqāt, op.cit.
  4. Tabaqāt, op.cit.
  5. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.320. Ni'mat Ullah, f.59a. Jaunpūr Nāma pp.19-20. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.164. Both Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad and Ni'mat Ullah mention his six months' stay at Jaunpūr, but they do not mention anything about his destruction of the city. Khair ud-dīn Muhammad (Jaunpūr Nāma) and H.R. Nevill (D.G. Jaunpūr), mention that some of the buildings were destroyed by Jūga during his invasion of Jaunpūr, and

Sultān Husain was still determined to make a last desperate effort to regain his lost kingdom. At that time Jamāl Khān Sarang Khānī (the first patron of Sher Shāh Sūrī in Jaunpūr) and Daryā Khān had established their position in Bihār.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain was unwilling to defer action and thus allow the Lodīs time to further consolidate their position. He asked Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Husain Shāh (Bengal) for help, but the latter advised him to wait for some years more.<sup>2</sup> Ambitious Husain, neglecting the wise and sincere counsel of the ruler of Bengal, decided to march with his own men. With rapid marches, he reached Bihār and besieged the fort.<sup>3</sup> (1500 A.D.). Daryā Khān, the Lodī governor of the place, could not withstand him, and shut himself up in the fort. In the meantime he had sent an emissary

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Continued from previous page, n.5:

the rest of the buildings were destroyed by Sikandar (during his six months' stay there). According to Nizām ud-dīn Ahmad, Sikandar lived there for about six months in 903/1497. Khair ud-dīn Muhammad is wrong to mention this date as 905/1500.

1. Mushtāqī Waqī'āt, f.80.
2. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, f.32b.
3. Mushtāqī, p.80. Afsānah-i-Shāhān, ff.32b and 33a.

to Sultān Sikandar, and the latter ordered all the neighbouring Lodi nobles, including Ā'zam Humāyūn, to send forces to Daryā Khān's aid. Sultān Husain Sharqī was determined to destroy the fort, and pressed the siege. In spite of the fact that the Lodīs had put up a strong opposition with gunpowder and were also using arrows, Husain did not lose heart, and continued the siege.<sup>1</sup> The moat of the fort was very deep and it seemed to be difficult to clear of water. Sultān Husain ordered his Baidārs to drain it as soon as possible, and the latter were able to finish this task in one night.<sup>2</sup> This achievement was, however, more than offset by the arrival of a reinforcement comprising 9,000 horses to assist Daryā Khān.<sup>3</sup> The Sharqī Sultān found his position untenable, and very disappointed he retired to his last refuge of Colgong.<sup>4</sup>

This was the last attempt on Sultān Husain's part to regain his lost kingdom. He lived for many more years, passing the rest of his life in obscurity.

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1. Mushtāqī, Waqī'āt, p.80. Afsānah-i-Shāhan, ff.32-33.

2. Ibid, f.32b.

3. Ibid.

4. Mushtāqī, Waqī'āt, p.86. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.20-21.

He died in 911/1505, a fact which has been proved by his doings.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with his wish he was buried at Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Husain Sharqī was a learned scholar and talented king, who in the field of art and architecture has left everlasting memories. In spite of the fact that he spent most of his life warring against the Lodī, and could spare hardly any time for rest and ease, he nevertheless adorned his capital, Jaunpūr, with beautiful buildings and mosques such as Jāmi' ul-Sharq (also known as Masjid-i-Kalān, which still stands to this day with his name engraved on them.<sup>3</sup> He also built a huge 'Id Gāh, which still stands, though in a bad condition.<sup>4</sup>

Husain was a fine painter and his name holds an important position among the renowned painters of

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1. Whittēl's records show that Husain's coins continuously run until 911 AH. See Numismatic Supplement (36) to HASB, 1922, N.35. Also Appendix "The Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns", pp.
  2. Jaunpūr Nāma, op.cit.
  3. Jaunpūr Nāma, op.cit. Ghulām Hasan, f.17b. A. Fuhrer, p.52.
  4. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.82-83. Ghulām Hasan, f.17b.

Hindustān.<sup>1</sup> The authors of Mirāt-i-Aftāb Numā and Nishāt Arā write that Sultān Husain Sharqī who bore the pseudonym Gandārvā was the greatest inventive genius after Amīr Khusraw of Dehli.<sup>2</sup> His reputation spread all over India as a highly accomplished musician as well. He invented not only twelve Syāmas, such as Mulhār Syāma, but also fourteen todīs, such as Asawarī, Husainī (also known as Jaunpūrī) and Jaunpūrī Basanj.<sup>3</sup>

Husain's character was contradictory and disappointing. Although he was a man of ideas and had many opportunities to use his resources, yet he not only failed to realise his political ambitions but in the event also brought ruin on himself and his dynasty through his carelessness and follies. His courageous fighting, however, against heavy odds does deserve admiration. He was a brave and chivalrous warrior, but was at a disadvantage in his struggle against the wily Bahlūl, his sworn enemy, as he was so credulous that he could easily

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1. Motī Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India Ahmadabad, 1948, p.38.

2. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I. Decca, May 1957, pp.59-60.

3. Shāhnawāz Khan, Mirāt-i-Aftāh Nunā, ff.267-70. For details also see Chapter VII, pp.



be deceived by the Afghān's empty promises. He lacked statesmanship and his rash conduct in initiating a war against the Lodīs taxed his military as well as financial resources and ended in an unmixed disaster for his kingdom. He thought too highly of his own strength and resources, and utterly failed to measure those of his enemy. He was mostly dominated first by his mother, Queen Bībī Rājī, and after her death by his chief queen, Bībī Khunza, whose passion for vengeance was an important factor in his persistent aggression against Dehli and its tragic consequences. Had Bahlūl been succeeded by a less able son than Sikandar there might have been some chances for Husain to retain the remaining territory of Bihār. He had lost his trained military in the early wars with Bahlūl, and in the later<sup>t</sup> part of his reign he raised untrained contingents which lacked discipline and order and the will to win the war.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SHARQĪ ARCHITECTURE.

#### Introduction.

Though the unsettled conditions of the Sharqī Dynasty did not allow it to live long, its rulers who were great patrons of art and architecture, in spite of their incessant military activity on almost all frontiers of their kingdom, did find time to develop their architectural interest. Their numerous buildings display original and distinctive features, and have been highly praised by eminent critics. The Sharqī architecture as compared to that of other contemporary dynasties, is markedly Muslim. It is also unique in many ways. Two things continued to make Sharqī architecture pre-eminent. One was their assiduous patronage and the other, the deep artistic traditions of the local inhabitants. The Sharqīs employed local artisans, who were Jain and Hindu, and who grafted their own rich traditions upon the Muslim ones. After the fall of the Tughlugs and the invasion of Timūr at Dehli, the building operations came to a standstill. Dehli artisans were invited to take service in the rising provincial centres, especially Jaunpur, where the patronage of the rulers, as

has already been said, also attracted and encouraged them. "The Kings of the East" built many magnificent mosques, forts, palaces, shrines and tombs in different parts of their kingdom. They rebuilt and founded new cities, and adorned them with beautiful buildings of all kinds. In comparison, the architecture of the Dehli kingdom during the same period is represented only by the tombs of Mubārak Sayyid, (1421-34) at Dehli, and by those of 'Alā ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh, (1434-35) and his family at Badā'un.

When Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar came to Jaunpūr, the city had only a few buildings erected decades ago by the orders of Sultān Fīrūz, i.e. the founder of Jaunpūr. Even the fort, including its mosque, was not complete. Sultān ush-Sharq had no proper residence even for himself. To provide himself with the official residence, he added some buildings to the Jaunpūr Fort. He also repaired and re-designed the old palace of Vijāya Chandra and re-named it Badī' Manzal.<sup>1</sup> And when his hands were free from the suppression of local rebellions, he turned to the construction of the city, which was further enlarged and remodelled and re-named as Dār-ul-Surūr.<sup>2</sup> To improve the

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

conditions of the agricultural class, he dug canals in various parts of his country.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of his adopted son, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, was mostly spent in wars against Dehli and, thus, architecturally, he could not do much except make some additions to the development of the capital city. But his successor, Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, was the greatest patron of art and culture of his period. His bounty attracted scholars, saints, artists and artisans, not only from the different parts of the sub-continent, but also from foreign lands. He further enlarged the capital city of Jaunpūr and adorned it with splendid mosques, palaces, libraries, bāzārs, tombs and shrines. He also built and repaired forts at important towns. He also dug bā'olīs and wells, and made bridges and gardens for the welfare of his subjects.<sup>2</sup> His successor, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī, was equally cultured. Though much of his time was taken up in waging wars against the neighbouring Hindu princes and chiefs, he built many mosques, some of which are still in existence, at Jaunpūr as well as in

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.23. For details, see pp.

2. Ibid, p.32. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.60-64 and 76.

other parts of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> His Queen, Bībī Rājī, a princess of the ruling Sayyid family of Dehli was, like her husband, very cultured and religious-minded. While her husband spent most of his time in holy wars, she not only administered the whole country in his absence, but also took an interest in many cultured and architectural activities. She built mosques, palaces as well as bridges for the welfare of her subjects.<sup>2</sup>

The short reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī's successor, Muhammad Sharqī, was mostly spent in war with Bahlūl Lodī. He was killed in the struggle for the throne near Dalamū, where his tomb still stands.<sup>3</sup> His successor, Sultān Husain Sharqī, was a liberal-minded prince and, like his father, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, had a rich taste in architecture. Despite his life-long wars with the Lodīs, Sultān Husain Sharqī found time to create some memorable works. He constructed many mosques, shrines and tombs in

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.51-52. For details see R.R. Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, pp.40-41, and 65-66.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52. For details see pp.68-69 and 84.

3. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.320. His tomb was built by Husain Sharqī, which still stands in a garden of the village of Makhanpūr near Dalnaū in the district of Rāj Bareli.

Jaunpūr as well as in other parts of his Empire.<sup>1</sup> He also repaired and rebuilt forts and fortresses throughout his kingdom for the security of his kingdom.<sup>2</sup> He also founded new cities and rebuilt old ones re-naming them after his name.<sup>3</sup> Among all the new and old cities which the Sharqī Sultāns founded and rebuilt, Zafarābād and Jaunpūr deserve our attention first.

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1. For details see pp. 283 & 303

2. The fort of Benāras was repaired in 1465 A.D. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.284. For further details, see pp.

3. For details, see pp.

## Section I.

### The Tale of Two Cities.

During the reign of the Sharqī Sultāns there were two important cities, i.e. Zafarābād and Jaunpūr, where most of the architectural and cultural activities took place. Zafarābād being the fore-runner of the other, needs to be mentioned first.

#### (A) Zafarābād.

Zafarābād is older than Jaunpūr, but during the Sharqī reign it was of secondary importance and was better known for its religious and literary activities than for its architectural attainments. It lies on the right bank of the Gūmtī at a distance of about four miles from Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> It had been a flourishing city of that part of the country before the founding of Jaunpūr. In ancient days this region had been a great centre of culture and religion of the Buddhists as well as the Hindus. Ruins of their ancient stupas and temples can still be seen here. It is the same area where the mythical Rāja Rām Chandra once ruled whose capital Ajudhyā lies in ruins not far from the

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.185.

modern district of Faizābād.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the Pāla  
 princes of Benāras ruled over this territory.<sup>2</sup> The  
 last Hindu rulers here were of the Gaharwār clan, whose  
 last ruler Jāyā Chandra II, 1193 A.D. was finally over-  
 thrown by Shihābud-dīn Ghori.<sup>3</sup> The walls of the old  
 fort of Jāyā Chandra still stand and enclose a space of  
 eight acres to the west of the town.<sup>4</sup> Its ancient name  
 is said to have been Manaichgarh, and its fort was known  
 as Asnī.<sup>5</sup> From the conquest of Shihāb ud-dīn Ghori  
 till the time of Sultān Fīrūz this area had been perma-  
 nently under Muslim influence and also served as a route  
 between Dehli and Lakhnautī. Many Muslim Sufīs such as

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 2.

2. D.G. Jaunpur, p. 147.

3. This area of the Ganges doāb was also conquered by Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznārī. He defeated the rāja of Asaī, i.e. Asnī (the name of the old fort of Zafarābād/Manaichgarh) named Chandrā Pāl Bhūr in 1018 A.D. See Dr. M. Nāzim, "The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna", pp. 108-109. Muhammad Habib, Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, p. 39.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 64. <sup>Ullah</sup> D.G. Jaunpur, pp. 146-147. One small village two miles north to the present city of Zafarabad still retains the same name, i.e. Manaichgarh

5. Tajallī-i-Nūr, vol. I, pp. 7-15. The fort of Asnī was also called Asaī. It lies ten miles north-east of Fathpūr on the river Ganges. See Dr. M. Nāzim, op.cit. p. 109. Muhammad Habib, op.cit. p. 39.



Shaikh Bārha and later on Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn Āftāb-ī-Hind and Makhdūm Asad ud-dīn Chirāgh-ī-Hind came and settled here.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards a good number of disciples of both the latter also settled down here and worked for the establishment of Islam.

Zafar Khān was appointed the first Muslim governor of this place in 721/1321. He is said to have given it the name of Shahr ī-Anwār, i.e. the city of holy lights, but that appellation could never replace its popular name, Zafarābād.<sup>2</sup> Shahr ī-Anwār is a chronogram giving the hijra year 762 (1360-61), the date of the refoundation of the city.<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Ā'in ul-Mulk Multānī was governor of Zafarābād and Awadh.<sup>4</sup> In 1376 A.D. Zafarābād and Jaunpūr were allotted to another prince, Nasir Khān, also known as Malik Bahrūz Sultānī, who afterwards died and was buried in Jaunpūr,<sup>5</sup> i.e. the

1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.147.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.7-15. A. Fuher, vol.I, p.64.

3. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.153.

4. Elliot and Dawson, Vol.IV, p.13.

5. D.G. Jaunpūr, pp.245-46.

new city whose foundations had already been laid down in the previous years, 760/1358-159.<sup>1</sup> The place of Zafarābād had now been taken by Jaunpūr, but it still remained the second city of the Sharqī Kingdom. It had become a seat of Islamic learning and Muslim mysticism for the last half a century, i.e. since the arrival of Makhdūm Aṣad ud-dīn Āftāh ī-Hind and Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn Chirāgh ī-Hind. Even afterwards many saints and scholars from other parts of the country came and settled here.<sup>2</sup> Because of the residence of many saints and Sufīs, this city was also known as Pīrān Shāhr.<sup>3</sup> People also used to call it Kāghiz Kā Shahr, as it had been a well-known centre of the paper industry.<sup>4</sup> Zafarābād is now a very small town.

(B) Jaunpūr.

Very little is known of the ancient history of the old site of Jaunpūr beyond the fact that there stood

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1. Baranī, pp.148-49. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.4.

2. For details, see Chapters VII and VIII.

3. The District Gaz. of India (Jaunpūr), XXVIII, p.331.

4. Ibid.

a city in ancient times occupying the site of the present town. Brahmans derive the name Jaunpūr from Jamadaganī and assert that the place was originally called Jamadaganīpūra after this saint's name, for which they further find support in the sthana of the said saint at Jamaitha, a place situated between Jaunpūr and Zafarābād.<sup>1</sup> The common people even to-day call it by the name of Javanpūra and that argument has been supported by Mr. Ommaney's reading of an inscription found in Bundel Khand on the river Gūmtī.<sup>2</sup> General Cunningham's error in reading Ajudhyāpūra as Yaminyampūra in an inscription found in the wall of Lāl Darwāzah Masjid of Jaunpūr also led many to think in the same terms.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Fīrūz Shāh visited this country a second time in 1359 A.D., when he marched against Sultān Sikandar, son of Hājī Ilyās.<sup>4</sup> When Sultān Fīrūz reached Zafarābād

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1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.145. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.2.
  2. Ibid. Mr. Ommaney wrongly identified Yavanpūra in the Gūmtī.
  3. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.145. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. This inscription is of an old temple, the material of which has been used in the erection of this masjid.
  4. 'Afif, pp.148-49. E.C. Mujāddar, The Dehli Sultanate, p. 186. Dr. Riāzul Islām, SPAS, vol.III, part I, January, 1955, p.38.

he was compelled to stop here for about six months, owing to the rainy season.<sup>1</sup> During his stay he one day found at a little distance to the west of the other bank of the Gūmtī opposite Zafarābād a few thriving buildings built by a dispossessed Rājput prince of the Gaharwār clan of Ratgarh. Sultān Fīrūz was so attracted by the scene and the flat country that he decided to build there a new town. His orders were carried out soon, and thus the foundations of the new city which he named after himself were laid down (1359 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It is said that one night he dreamed of his cousin Malik Jūnā Khān, i.e. Sultān Muhammad Shāh bin Tughluq with the result that he decided to name the city after him as Jaunāpūr, which later on came to be called Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> Within a few years this city developed into an important provincial capital of the Tughluq Empire.

The first two governors of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr under Fīrūz, were Zafar Khān and Nasīr Khān, also known as

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1. Dr. Riāzī Islām, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, part I, January, 1955. -p.38.
  2. 'Afif, pp.148-49. Khair ud-din/Muhammad contradicts his own account writing in one place the date of its foundation as 761/1359-60, and in the other 772/1370.
  3. 'Afif, pp.148-49. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.146. S. Lane Poole, p.168.

Malik Bahrūz Sultānī (succeeded in 1376 A.D.) as has been mentioned before. Sultān Fīrūz's death on 23rd October, 1388, plunged the whole country into turmoil. The province of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr was also raided by rebels. On this occasion Sultān Mahmūd appointed Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, governor of this province (May, 1394), who for the first time made Jaunpūr the governing seat instead of Zafarābād.<sup>1</sup> When Sultān ush-Sharq arrived he found there only a very small number of buildings, for construction work had been suspended, owing to political confusion at the centre. He had not even an official residence and he used the old dilapidated palace of Vijāya Chandra.<sup>2</sup> The fort was still incomplete. He completed the building of the fort first of all and made it his administrative headquarters. He also took an interest in the development of the city, remodelled it and entitled it as Dār ul-Surūr.<sup>3</sup> His successors continued his work, with the result that this city rapidly progressed and became the most important city of the Sharqī kingdom. Apart from

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.10. For details, see Chapter I, pp.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

its political importance, it also became the centre of cultural activities. The benevolent patronage of the Sharqīs attracted here many scholars, saints and Sūfīs, artists and literary men from different parts of India as well as from Middle Eastern countries. They enriched this city with their activities, with the result that it flourished even after the end of the Sharqī power and carried on its traditions for centuries.

Jaunpur had at one time sixty-seven Mohallas of which many still survive such as "Isāpur, Begum Gamnj, Madār Mohalla, Karār Kot and Ātāla Masjid.<sup>1</sup> When Sikandar Lodī captured Jaunpūr, he destroyed the Sharqī forts, palaces, domes of their tombs and many other buildings. Even certain portions of the mosques, where Sharqī inscriptions had been inscribed, also suffered the same fate.<sup>2</sup> These buildings were later on restored to some extent in 1525 A.D. by Humāyūn.<sup>3</sup> Shāh Jahān also visited this place, called it Dār ul-'Ilām and also named it Shīrāz-i-Hind.<sup>4</sup> Auranzzeb also visited this place and

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.106.

2. A. Fuhrer, vol.I, p.4.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, pp.13-14.

4. Ghulām Hasan f.4b.

tried to restore the masjids to their former beauty.<sup>1</sup> But unfortunately the buildings of this city met a further calamity. The great flood (12th September) and earthquake (26th September) of 1871 A.D. very seriously affected the whole city, and its buildings were further damaged.<sup>2</sup> The epidemic (September, 1871 A.D.) that followed those disasters greatly reduced the population.<sup>3</sup> Again in 1894 A.D. floods of the Gūmtī damaged the dilapidated monuments and other buildings of the city.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the 19th century not much was left of its past grandeur. The remains in and outside Jaunpur are in a dilapidated condition,

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.21.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.103. The flood and earthquake washed away two-thirds of the destroyed buildings.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.107-8. At this time people took refuge in Jamī' Masjid. Atālā and Lāl Darwāzah Mayids were also very seriously affected by this flood.

4. One flood came in 1894 and the other in October, 1894. When Duncan visited it in 1788 A.D. and wrote favourably about this city, he lamented its decay and remarked that once this city had been Shirāz or the medieval Paris of India. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.28.

yet worth mentioning for their past history. The Sharqī forts, mosques, palaces, tombs and shrines and other minor architectural activities in and outside the capital city of Jaunpūr are as follows.



## Section II.

### The Sharqī Forts.

The kingdom of Jaunpūr had a very peculiar position, situated as it was in the heart of Hindūstān in a fertile region, and surrounded by the powerful kingdoms of Mālwah, Bengāl and Dehli. To safeguard their position against their formidable neighbours the Sharqī rulers found it necessary to maintain a huge army. To strengthen their defences and to station this army, the Sharqī rulers built many forts and repaired many old ones.<sup>1</sup> Most of them have vanished owing to the ravages of time. Only a few remain, and these too in a dilapidated condition. The modern district of Rāī Bareilī alone has five fortresses of the Sharqī period - an indication of the large number of fortified positions which the Kingdom of Jaunpūr as a whole must have had at its height. These five forts in Rāī Bareilī are as follows: (1) a mud fort (along with two Masjids in stone) built by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī in the old village of Thulendī; (2) a fort about five miles east of

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1. Like many others, the fort of Benāras was repaired in 1465 A.D. by Husain. Tabaqāt, vol.III, p.284.

this in the old village of Hardoī<sup>1</sup>; (3) a broken brick fort of Nasīrābād, four miles south-east of tahsil Jā'is which, tradition says, Sultān Ibrāhīm built in memory of his son, Nasīr ud-dīn,<sup>2</sup> (4 and 5) two old forts repaired by Ibrāhīm Sharqī, one at Dalmaū and another at the capital city of Rāī Bareī. But before describing in detail the latter two, we would like to mention first the details of the fort of the capital city of Jaunpūr, known as Karār Kot, also prominent as the seat of government throughout the Sharqī rule.

#### Karār Kot Fort (Jaunpūr).

This fort, situated on the north bank of the Gūmtī, was originally founded by Sultān Fīrūz of Dehli on the artificial mound of the ruined temple of Karār Bhīr. Local traditions connect the temple with the name of the mythical Rāja Rām Chandra of Ajudhyā, who is said to have built it at the spot where he had killed a man-eater giant by the name of Karār Bhīr.<sup>3</sup> When in 1359 A.D. Sultān

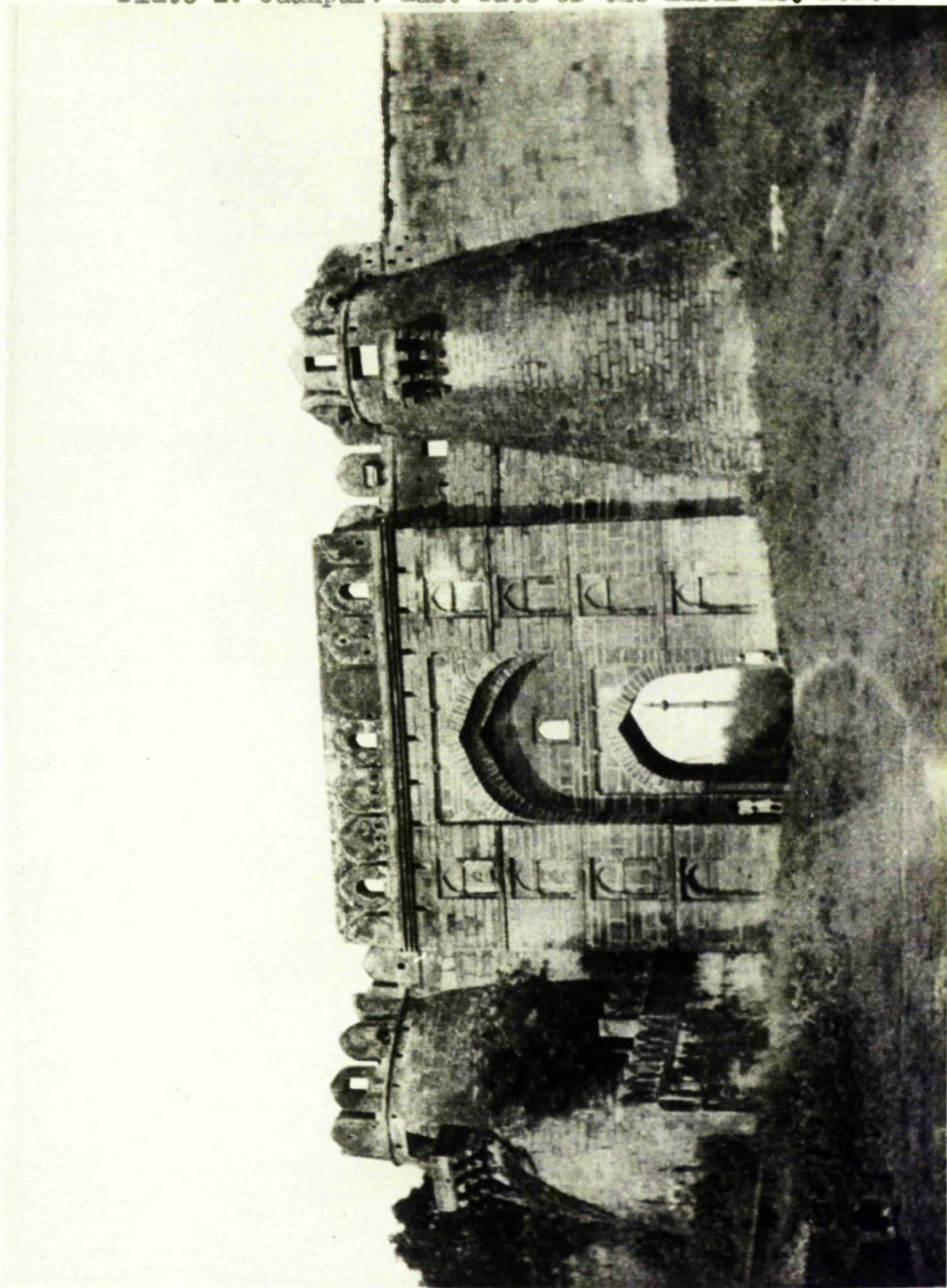
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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, pp.319-20.

2. Ibid, p.324.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.35.

Plate I: Jaunpūr: East Gate of the Karār Kot Fort.



Fīrūz ordered the foundation of the new city of Jaunpūr, this temple was dismantled and instead a fort was erected on the mound; this fort got the name Karār Bhīr Fort.<sup>1</sup> The Mohalla near the fort is also known as Karār/<sup>Kot</sup> A stone, built into the south-west wall of the fort, is known as Karār Bhīr and is still worshipped by the Hindus, who anoint it by way of worship.<sup>2</sup>

The building mainly erected by Fīrūz, was modified by Sultān ush-Sharq, who first made it the government headquarters. The cultured prince Ibrāhīm on coming to power not only repaired the dilapidated part of this fort but added many pavilions and baths as well as a beautiful mosque for the convenience of his nobles and his administrative staff.<sup>3</sup>

This fort is an irregular quadrangle formed by a stone wall built on top of the Karār Bhīr, the artificial mound.<sup>4</sup> The external walls are of considerable height, though they are not uniform owing to the unequal level of

1. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.35-36. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.4.

2. Ibid, Jaunpūr Nāma, Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp. 36-37.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.23.

the mound.<sup>1</sup> The northern wall of the fort is not well placed for defence purposes, for outside it is high ground that offers obvious advantages to invaders.<sup>2</sup> Besides the rally-post on the south-eastern face, there is one steep passage which was originally cut through the artificial mound for allowing elephants to pass.<sup>3</sup> The only entrance was by a gateway on the east, now in a broken condition, which is 46'-4" in height, 43'-8" in width at the base and 40'-3" along the top, giving a slope to the walls of 1'-8½" each.<sup>4</sup> There are projecting piers on both sides of the entrance connected by a lofty stone arch-way and divided into four storeys by ornamental string moulding.<sup>5</sup> The face of each storey has an arched recess, which contains an inner panel having a cusped head which is further ornamented with bells as well as pietra-dura. Over the recess there is an ornamented flat stone lintel. Under the main arch there is a wall which is

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.23.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

pierced by small arched openings, below which is a small bracketed cornice.<sup>1</sup> Below that there is another archway which springs from moulded capitals crowning the jambs at the angles of the entrance.<sup>2</sup> Finally the lower part of the gateway is strengthened by a heavy plinth, having a similar design to that of the east entrance of the Atāla Masjid.<sup>3</sup> The depth of the gate is 16'-1" and there are small chambers of 3'-8" and 4'-7" and 7'-10" high on each side of the entrance leading to the main building of the fort. The gate on the north and south side is guarded by round loopholed bastions that are much wider at the base than above.<sup>4</sup>

When Sikandar Lodī occupied Jaunpūr and laid waste the Sharqī monuments he destroyed not only the royal mansions inside the fort but also its outer fortifications, ramparts and gate.<sup>5</sup> The material of these demolished buildings was used later on by Lodī nobles to erect their

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.23.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.19 and 38.

own residences. Later when Emperor Humāyūm ordered the restoration of the broken monuments, this fort was also rebuilt.<sup>1</sup> All is now desolate within the walls of that old fort, which had once been a fine example of the military architecture of India.

The Fort of Rāi Bareilī.<sup>2</sup>

Originally this was an old Hindu fort.<sup>3</sup> When Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī succeeded to the throne and made new establishments in different parts of his kingdom, the town of Rāi Bareilī was also restored in 820/1417.<sup>4</sup> At the same time Sultān Ibrāhīm found it necessary to strengthen his position by building a new fort on the ruined mount of the old Hindu fort.<sup>5</sup> This new fort, rising from an earthen mound, was a vast structure in the shape of a

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1. Faunpūr Nāma, p.38.

2. This town (Rāi Bareilī) is pleasantly situated on the river Sāī. It was originally founded by Bhars, who called it Bharalvī, changed afterwards to Bareilī.

3. Ibid.

4. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.324.

5. Ibid.



quadrangle.<sup>1</sup> Now it is in a dilapidated condition and only a few fragments of it remain. One is the western gate, built of huge bricks, and the main entrance of the fort.<sup>2</sup> The other is the bā'olī, i.e. a vast circular well, about thirty-five feet in diameter.<sup>3</sup> The well is lined with huge bricks supporting balconies, and it also contains chambers on a level with the water. There is no elevated plateau inside it as the Dalmaū fort has, but there is a fosse outside it which denotes that originally the work was obviously intended for military purposes.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Fort of Dalmaū.<sup>5</sup>

This fort is situated on a cliff about a hundred feet high, overhanging the river Ganges near the ruins of the old town of Dalmaū. Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī rebuilt

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.324.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p.325.

5. The town of Dalmaū lies on the banks of the Ganges and is the headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in the Rāi Bareli District, U.P. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.



and restored it. During the reign of his successors, who maintained it well, it remained in use for about a century. It is an irregular quadrangle having its two north eastern sides 163 and 315 yards long respectively; and the other two sides are of similar dimensions.<sup>1</sup> Its total circumference is 900 yards. The space within the quadrangle is circumscribed by retreating ramparts.<sup>2</sup> The defences of this fort consist of <sup>a</sup> vast earthen mound, from forty to sixty feet high, and many hundreds of feet thick.<sup>3</sup> The whole fort stands on an immense artificial mound covering a total area of eight acres; on the top of it used to be a wall all around, but it is now in a broken condition except on the south east corner of the river face.<sup>4</sup> At this point the earth is covered with brickwork at an angle of about thirty degrees towards the ground.<sup>5</sup> Here at a perpendicular height of about 40 feet the battlements rise well within the wall, each outer one acting as a buttress

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.320.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, pp.320-21.

5. Ibid. p.321.

for that on the inside.<sup>1</sup> The side facing the river, scraped by the action of the water, is difficult to scale.<sup>2</sup>

It looks as if this fort was not designed for military purposes. There is no ditch outside. A mass of earthwork further shows that it was never constructed on sufficiently strong foundations to make it suitable for defence against the enemy.

The interior of the fort has pavilions, masjids and tombs of the Mughul period, now in a ruined condition.<sup>3</sup> But a gateway to the east erected by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī still stands; it is largely composed of carved slabs, pieces of pillars and architraves. A careful study shows that the material used for it was partly derived from the ancient temples.<sup>4</sup>

This dilapidated fort with its tottering pavilions and crumbling battlements is still the most arresting object

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.321.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp. 320-22.

4. Ibid, pp. 321-22. Originally this mound was of two Buddhist stupās which were demolished by a Brahman leader, Rājā Delā Deva, who afterwards connected both the ruined mounds, giving to the spot the shape of a vast plateau.

on the banks of the Ganges at Awadh, and is now falling away day by day as the stream below cuts away a portion of it every year.

### Section III.

#### The Sharqī Masjids.

##### (A) The Sharqī Masjids of Jaunpūr.

##### Fort Masjid.

This masjid stands inside the Karār Kot Fort and is the earliest example of the mosque architecture of the city of Jaunpūr. One of its pillars bears a long Arabic inscription, according to which it was founded in Ziqa'dah in 778/April, 1377, by Ibrāhīm Nāib Bārbak, brother of Sultān Fīrūz.<sup>1</sup> It was completed under the early Sharqīs, at the same time when the Jaunpūr fort was constructed.<sup>2</sup>

This masjid is a long narrow building being 130'-4" in length and 23 feet in breadth.<sup>3</sup> It has a

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.26-27.

2. Barani, pp.148-49.

3. Khair ud-dīn Muhammad (Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.36-38) reads this date as 798/1395-96. However, its completion might have taken place during the reign of Sultān ush Sharq, under the supervision of Ibrāhīm (Sharqī) who was governor of the city at that time and who had also built up there spacious Turkish baths.

simple arcade which is supported on carved Hindu pillars of various designs but they have no plinth. The main position of the Masjid is divided into three chambers by two lateral walls. The central room measures 37'-5" by 14'-10" and is spanned by two arches of fifteen feet which further divide it into three distinct portions carved by plastered domes.<sup>1</sup> Both the side rooms are 40'-1" by 18'-10" and 8'-2" in height, with five bays in the length and two in the breadth.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of each room there is a row of round pillars. There is also a row of pillars against the back wall, but they are square in shape.<sup>3</sup> All these pillars are built up of different kinds of shafts pieced together. Some of them are square in shape, some octagonal, some round and others hexagonal.<sup>4</sup> In the same way its capitals, which are double and support the architraves and upon which rest the flat slabs of stone forming the ceiling, are also of different designs.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.25.

2. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.105. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.329.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.25.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

The external façade of the masjid is plastered and devoid of decoration. At the top of the central mehrāb there is an Arabic inscription which is still well preserved. The central apartment has a height of 24'-0" and stands 2'-6" over arched entrances on each side, leading to the domed and central area rising some 7'-6" over the low arcades on each side. Moreover on the central arch of each side a tapered octagonal stone has been introduced which has a shaft of 36 feet in height and which is also moulded at the top.<sup>2</sup>

The centre of the spandrels over the arches is decorated with a small pietra-dura.<sup>3</sup> Its friege is divided into three flat panels and is further surmounted by a plain projecting cornice as well as an embattled parapet.<sup>4</sup> All the vaults of the masjid are nicely plastered.<sup>5</sup> The western pillars have flat roofs and are enclosed by a plastered brick wall with niches.<sup>6</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.25.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.,

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., pp.24-25.

This masjid had no minarets; instead there were two pillars standing at a distance of about 27 feet in front of the building.<sup>1</sup> One of these pillars has disappeared, leaving its plinth only; the other, which bears the inscription mentioned above, still stands and measures 40 feet high.<sup>2</sup>

There is another monolith of a later date measuring 2'-6" in height and 2'-5" across its base. It records a Persian inscription of seventeen verses, the last of which gives its date of erection as 1766 A.D.<sup>3</sup> This monolith was built by Khān Ī-Khānān Mun'im Khān, then governor on behalf of Nawāb Wazīr of Awadh, who took an interest in the repairs of this masjid.<sup>4</sup>

#### Ātāla Masjid.

This masjid takes its name from the temple of Ātāla Devī, on the site of which it was erected.<sup>5</sup> The

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.26.

2. Ibid, p.26.

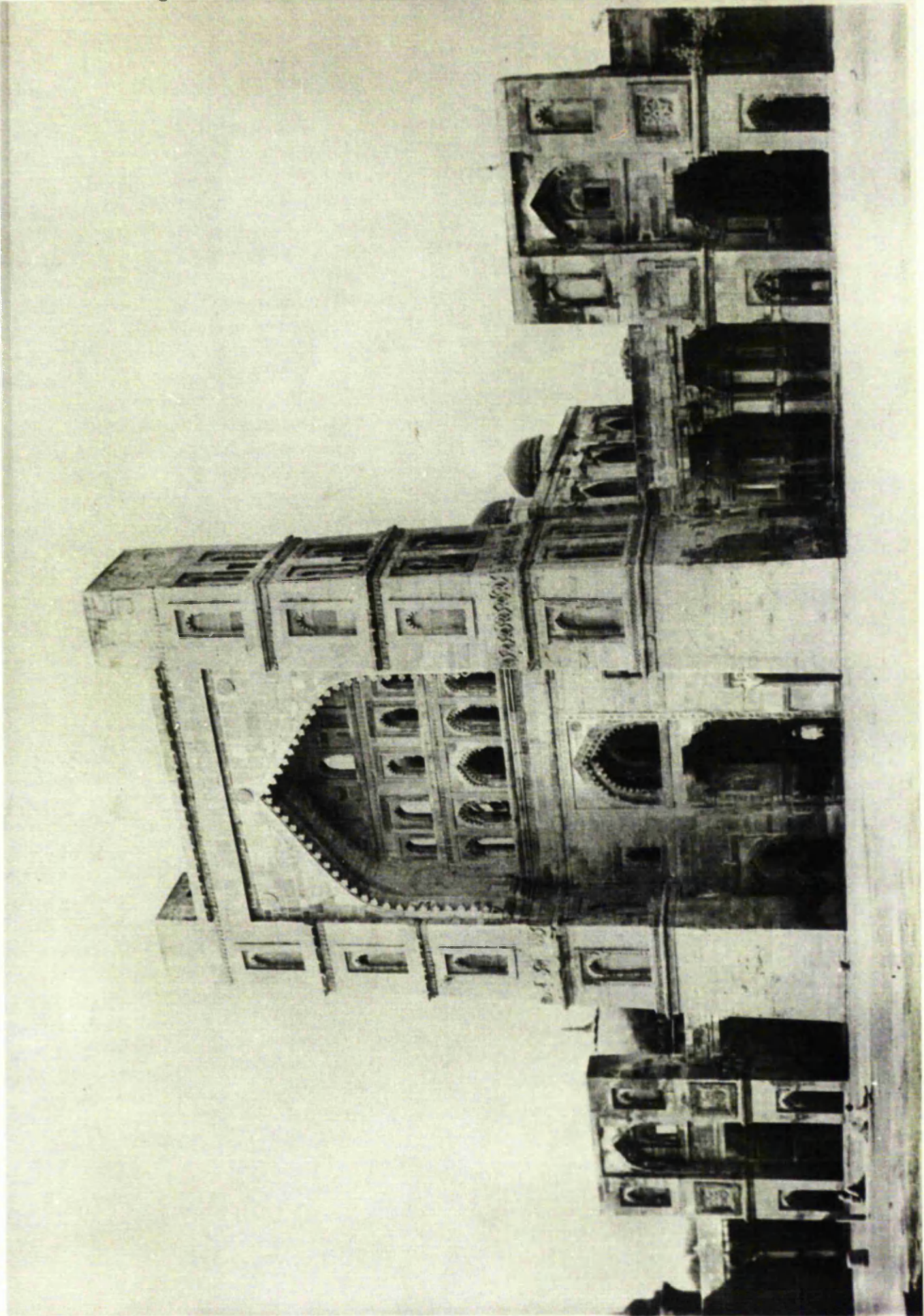
3. Ibid, p.28.

4. Ibid, p.27.

5. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.41-45. P. Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), p.44. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.30.



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Plate II: Jaunpūr: Atāla Devī Masjid, General view of the Façade.





story of its erection is that, when in 1359 A.D., Sultān Fīrūz visited this area and caught sight of this temple, he wanted it to be demolished. According to Khair ud-dīn Muhammad the Sultān abandoned the idea when the local Hindus strongly and unanimously objected.<sup>1</sup> But when Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī succeeded to the Sharqī throne, he could not resist his religious zeal, so he ordered the destruction of this temple. On its site the Ātāla Masjid was erected, with the material of the same temple as well as of those, which had also once been demolished in its neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> It was finished in 1408 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Khair ud-dīn Muhammad mentions that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī accompanied by his nobles and officers often used to offer Friday as well as 'Īd prayers here. Tradition has it that the Sharqī rulers used to go for prayers there after finishing their daily official duties and that they even used its chambers for storing their booty and spoils.<sup>4</sup> Like the rest of the Jaunpūrī masjids, this was also partly destroyed by Sikandar Lodī. But in 1860 A.D., it was

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A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 36  
1. Jaunpur Nama, op.cit.

2. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp. 41-43.

3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p. 38.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p. 43.

restored to a great extent by the efforts of Munshī Haidar Husain of Jaunpūr and is still intact.<sup>1</sup>

The Ātāla masjid, an early specimen of the Jaunpūr style, is the most ornate and most beautiful of all the Jaunpūrī masjids. This splendid piece of architecture covers an area of 258 square feet.<sup>2</sup> Its courtyard is 177 feet in diameter, around which on three sides are the cloisters and on the fourth the sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> The west side where the sanctuary stands is divided into five compartments. At the back of the principal propylon is the central room. Next to it on either side is one oblong room, 62'10" by 28'-8", of one storey. Then there are two more small rooms in each corner. These small rooms are of two storeys, and had originally been separated with stone screenwork from the rest of the buildings.<sup>4</sup>

The central chamber is oblong in form, i.e. 35 ft in length and 29'-6" in width, and has been roofed above with a grand dome.<sup>5</sup> This entire chamber which once

1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.43.

2. P. Brown, op.cit., p.44. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.30.

3. P. Brown, op.cit. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.32.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.32.

5. Ibid.

formed an elaborate and artistic piece of work, has now been marred by the various coats of whitewash done from time to time. It has transept pillars on either side. Its decorative treatment consists of three different stages, each depending on an arrangement of arches or arcades for its effect. The lowest stage of this compartment has three mehrab̄s; of these the central one has been recessed 4'-4" from the face of the wall.<sup>1</sup> All these mehrab̄s have been beautifully carved and have black bands round their arches.<sup>2</sup> To the north of the central mehrab̄ stands a pulpit.

The second decorated stage of the above-mentioned compartment, i.e. of the central chamber, has decorative arches, four of which are squinched as well as bridged across the angles. This gives it the shape of an octagon. Through the screened openings of these arches light comes to its upper part. Then comes the upper stage which is sixteen sided and supports the dome.<sup>3</sup>

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- A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.130.
1. ~~Zell~~. P. Brown, Indian Architecture, (Indian Period), p.44 - is mistaken in describing its length and width as 35 ft by 30 ft.
  2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.35. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45.
  3. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45.

The grand dome which has an octagonal shape is 56'-2" in height from the inner side.<sup>1</sup> For its interior decoration black marble has largely been used and for the same purpose there have been made arches, mehrábs and architraves. The top section of this dome is sixteen-sided; from it springs the cupola which has been divided into enriched panels by projecting ribs of black marble.<sup>2</sup> The external cornice from which this dome springs is executed in stone, though its external coating has been cemented. Its crowning bands are ornamented with pointed arcading which projects from the face 1'-½". Finally there are rosette carvings in the centre of each arch in relief, which give a very noble appearance.<sup>3</sup>

Each of the pillared oblong rooms on either side of the central room measures 62'-0" by 28'-8". They are also roofed by smaller domes. These domes have stone moulding around their bases, in the same way as that of the drums and cornices of the other ones.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.31.

2. Ibid, p.34.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.37-38.

4. Ibid, p.38.

Then at the farther end, in each corner, there is another low room of two storeys on either side.<sup>1</sup> Their upper storeys have been surrounded by perforated stone screens for use as Zamāna galleries.<sup>2</sup> Their ceilings are panelled and richly carved.<sup>3</sup> The external wall of these Zamāna galleries on the north and south sides respectively, are pierced with window openings filled in with stone trellis-work, and their western walls are divided into bays.<sup>4</sup>

The most striking feature of this Sharqī architectural gem is its propylon, where Jaunpūr architects have combined their artistic skill with remarkable originality. This splendid part of the masjid recalls the propylon of an Egyptian temple. It was used instead of minarets. Its height is 75'-0" and its width across the base is 54'-7"; across the top it remains only 47'-0".<sup>5</sup> There are staircases on each side of it leading to its top.

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Vol.I, p.32.

1. ~~A. Fuhrer~~, P. Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period) p.45.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.32. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45.

3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. P. Brown, op.cit., p.45.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.32. P. Brown, op.cit., p.45.

5. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.34.

Their exterior is divided into six storeys which have been decorated by string courses. All storeys except the first and sixth storeys are embellished with recessed arches.<sup>1</sup> The central portion has a great arched recess of eleven feet in depth. Its upper portion is pierced with openings and was filled in originally with screen-work. It has also on its lower portion entrances to the nave.<sup>2</sup> There are propylons on a smaller scale which have been placed on either side of it and have also been decorated with carvings and other geometrical devices.<sup>3</sup>

The courtyard of this grand masjid is reached by three massive gateways, which lie in the centre of the north, south and east façades. They have staircases on either side of them which lead to the upper cloisters. The height of each of these gateways is 34'-6" from the base and from the top which remains 38'-0".<sup>4</sup> The screen walls of these gateways over the inner arch are panelled where in the centre of each a Persian inscription still

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A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.34.  
1. Ibid. S.L. Poole, pp.170-171.

2. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. P. Brown, op.cit. p.44.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.36.

4. Ibid, p.35.

exists though in a broken condition.<sup>1</sup> Towards the courtyard side at the front of both north and south gateways there is an octagonal room of one storey high with domed roof.<sup>2</sup> These panelled domes are enriched by decorative cornices both internally and externally. The whole structure of these gateways is supported by square pillars; shafts of these are of Hindu design, placing one above the other to the height of one storey.<sup>3</sup>

But the third entrance of the eastern side is the largest and most beautiful, and in design generally resembles that grand propylon which is in the front of the grand dome. From the centre it is recessed and spanned by a four-centred arch of Ogee form and the spaces above its spandrels are panelled and ornamented by pietra dura. The upper part of the gables is pierced whereas the lower is divided into panelled bands which are beautifully fretted. The whole structure stands on a massive podium. Its top is crowned by an elaborate bold cornice and its dome has the same sort of decoration as that of the other two.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.33.

2. Ibid, p.35.

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4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.36.

Like the other two gateways it also had a Persian inscription slab, which has now been replaced by a new one.<sup>1</sup>

This masjid has the usual cloisters on its three sides, each very spacious and 42 ft in width.<sup>2</sup> So far as the ground floor cloisters are concerned they are three aisles in depth and have square and coupled columns.<sup>3</sup> Towards their outer side there is a row of rooms and in front of them is a pillared verandah which faces the street.<sup>4</sup> The upper storey differs from the lower. There the space is occupied by those rooms which have been built in front of the cloisters. The first of these cloisters is covered by a verandah. Its entire breadth is divided into five open aisles and there are also rows of square as well as octagonal columns.<sup>5</sup>

A thorough study of this masjid testifies that many elements in its design were directly derived from the Tughluq architecture. For instance the recessed arch

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.33.

2. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.44.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.33.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.32. P. Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), p.44.

5. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.33.

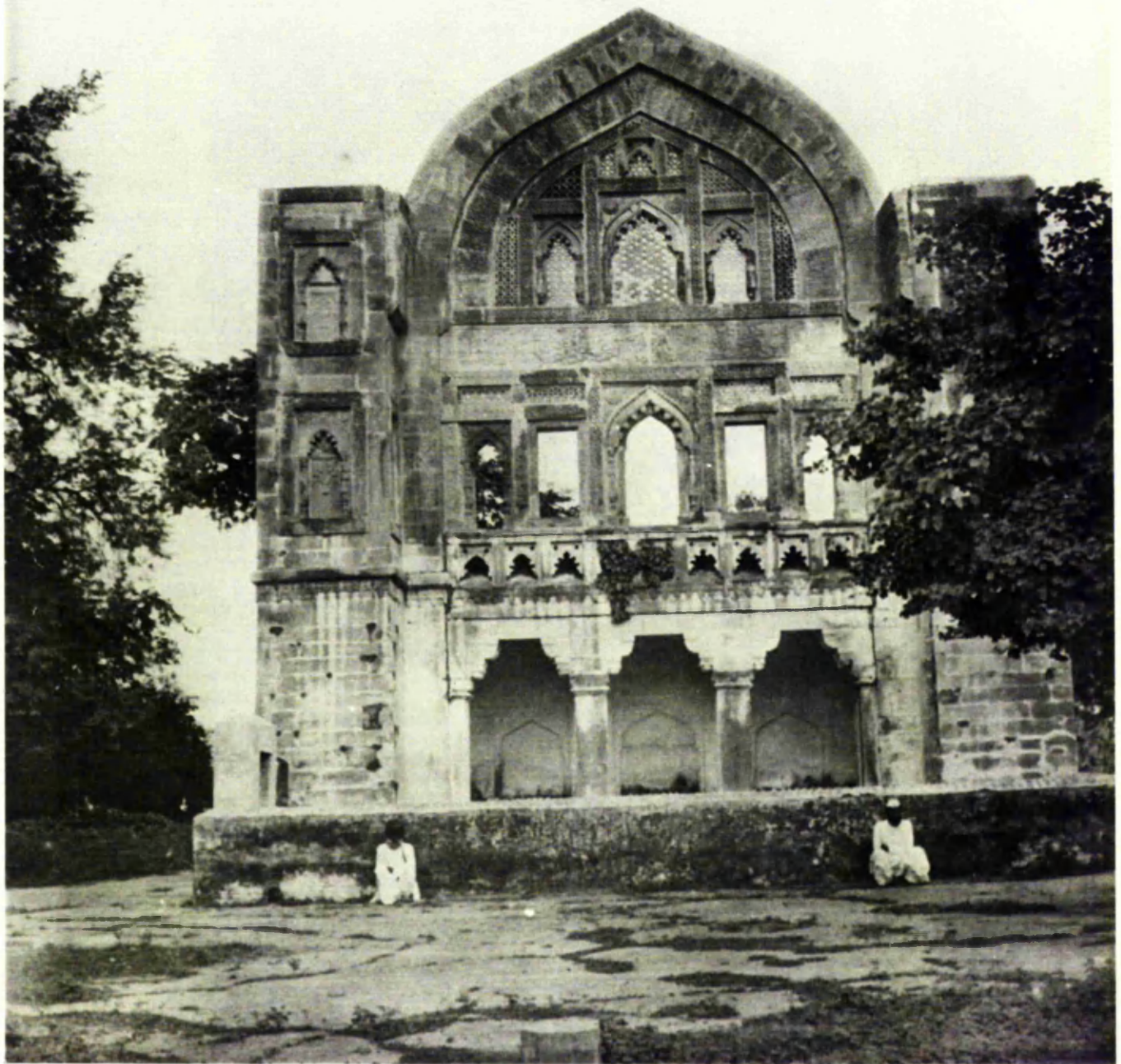


with its fringe of ornamentat<sup>ion</sup> as well as its shape and sloping sides is to be found in Sultān Muhammad Shāh's (1390-93) tomb at Tughluqābād. Also the irregular arches here are borrowed from the same source, and the plain square shafts of the pillars and particularly the tapering turrets on the quoins of the western exterior wall seem to have been copied from Sultān Firūz Shāh's buildings. It shows that the workmen who were employed here were trained in the same traditions as those of the Imperial capital of Delhi; in fact most of them had taken refuge under the Sharqīs after the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire, and flourished here under their benevolent patronage. Moreover the original and distinctive manner in which the elements comprising the scheme have been combined here indicates that this final conception was achieved by the genius of master builders, who had a very high training and mature vision. Local Hindu artisans were also employed; they made their own contribution to the architectural synthesis.

#### Jhanjri Masjid.

This masjid which also gives its name to the adjoining Mohalla was erected by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī with the material of Vijāya Chandra's temple of Mukatghāt, said

Plate III: Jaunpūr: The Jhanjrī Masjid.



to have been demolished by Sultān Fīrūz.<sup>1</sup> This masjid is also known by the name of Chāchakpūr.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm built it for the convenience of the celebrated saint, Mīr Sadr Jahān Ajmal, who had once been his minister and who, after retiring from that post, used to live in the Mohalla of Shaikhūwārāh, which is quite close to it.<sup>3</sup> Like other buildings this masjid also suffered the same fate at the destructive hands of Sikandar Lodī, who pulled down a part of its court walls along with its main eastern gate.<sup>4</sup> Later on floods in the Gūmtī seriously damaged this noble piece of architecture so that the grand dome on its central chamber and some other parts crumbled afterwards.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently its stones and bricks were appropriated for other public and private buildings, notably the great bridge built by Khān-ī-Khānān.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.12. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41. D.G. Jaunpūr p.242.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.51-52 and 85.

3. Ibid, p.85.

4. Ibid, pp.51-52.

5. Ibid, p.85.

6. Ibid, p.85.

Its total area including its courtyard is 72 square feet.<sup>1</sup> It has been completely rebuilt now, the only original parts intact being a stone wall, some stone pillars and great piers.<sup>2</sup> These great piers, which flank a screen of much grace and beauty, show that the building in its original, complete form must have been remarkable in the richness of its treatment, and especially in its size, in comparison with all the Sharqī buildings except that of <sup>the</sup> Ātāla Masjid. The central portion of the façade still remains, and because of the fine screen-like appearance of its arched propylon, it is called Jhanjri Masjid. The base of this propylon is 35'-6" in width and the span of its arch is 23'-9".<sup>3</sup> The present brick wall, which forms a small enclosure, and a low-roofed insignificant chamber behind the screen are later additions. This small old remaining portion helps the onlooker to conjure up the form and pattern of the original monument. Some of the parts of the remaining building such as its entrance which is in the shape of an arcade

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.86.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.85.

3. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243.

of openings on the pillars, beams and bracket, indicate indigeneous elements. That gives the impression that the builders were much interested in its plastic treatment, which is the finest thing in this masjid as compared with the other Sharqī examples.<sup>1</sup> This masjid compared with the previous architectural achievements of the Sharqīs seems to be an example of elegance and strength. It has an Arabic inscription in raised letters beautifully carved on the inner arch which is actually a part of its screen, and which is the only instance of this type of decoration in Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> This masjid is greatly revered by the local population because of its association with saint Mīr Sadr Jahān Ajmal.

#### Khālīs Mukhlīs Masjid.

This masjid is known variously as Darbia Masjid or Khālīs Mukhlīs Masjid or Chahār Unglī Masjid.<sup>3</sup> It was built by two chief nobles, i.e. Malik Mukhlīs and Malik Khālīs, of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, in

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1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243.

2. A. Fährer, Vol.I, p.41. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.51-52.

3. Ibid, p.50. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.242.

1430 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It stands on the old site of a favourite temple of Rājā Vijāya Chandra.<sup>2</sup> The ruins of this temple still exist on the northern side of this celebrated masjid.<sup>3</sup> The mosque is commonly known as Chahār Unglī Masjid, because of a stone in the south pier on the left side of the main entrance, three inches in length. It was reputed to have the virtue of measuring exactly four unglīs (fingers) i.e. about four inches in length, irrespective of the hand measuring. Many Hindus worship this stone and many Muslims too revere it.<sup>4</sup>

The masjid was built originally for the convenience of the celebrated saint Sayyid 'Usmān, who was born at Shirāz, later on came to Dehli and from there moved on

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.50. P. Brown, op.cit, p.45. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.242 - only mentions one name (Malik) Khālīs and records its date of erection 1417 A.D. P. Brown, op.cit. mentions its date of erection 1430 A.D. Ghulām Hasan: "The Short Account of Jaunpūr", f.17b, mentions Khālīs and Mukhlīs as slaves of Sultān Ibrahim. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. mentions them as governors of Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī and Khair ud-dīn (Jaunpūr Nāma, p.50) mentions them as chief nobles of Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī.
  2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.50-51.
  3. A. Fuhrer, Ibid. Jaunpūr Nāma, Ibid.
  4. A. Fuhrer, Ibid. Jaunpūr Nāma, Ibid.



because of the invasion of Tiṃūr to Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> His descendants still reside near the masjid.<sup>2</sup>

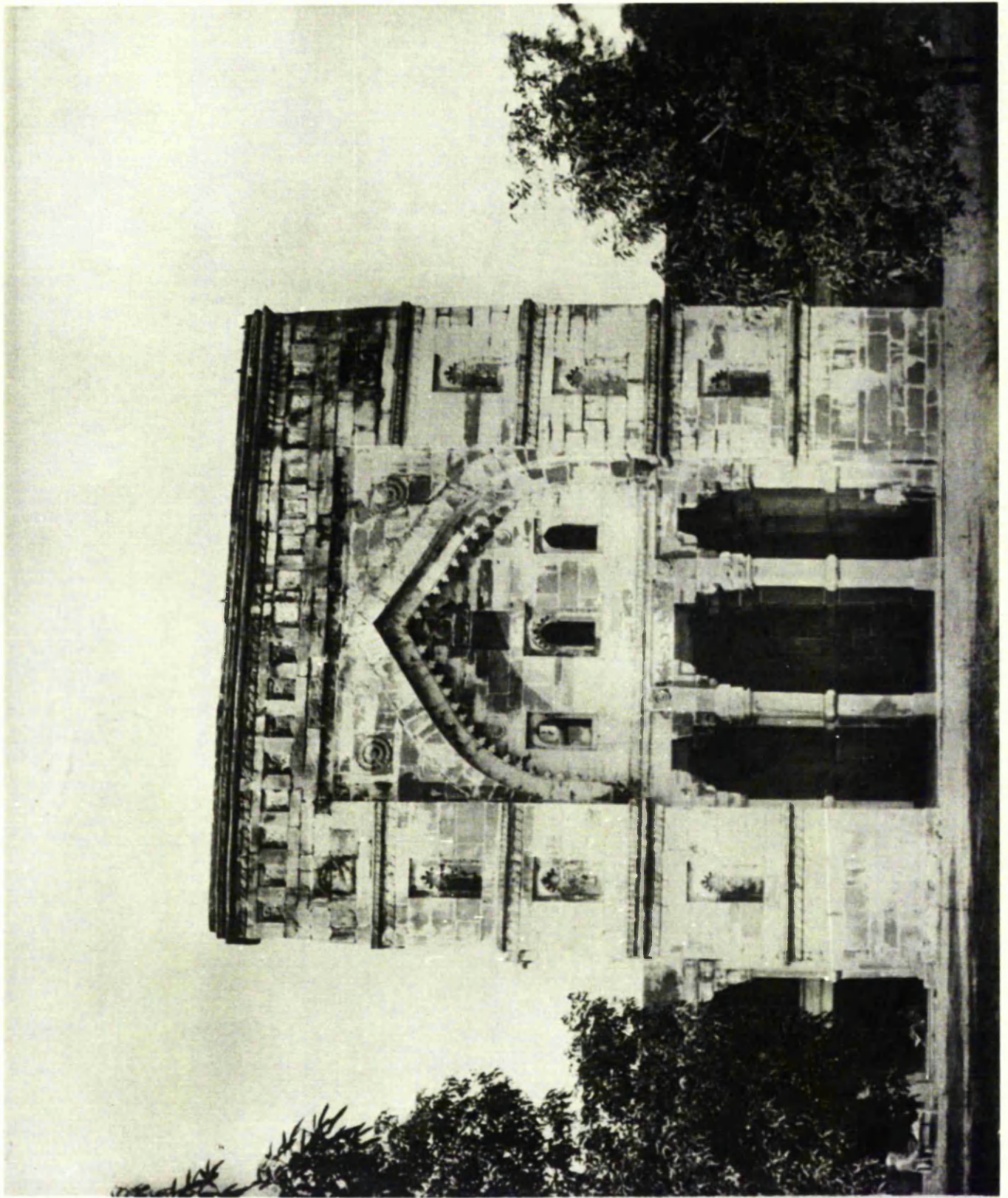
This masjid is a plain serviceable structure and consists of the usual great propylon, domed hall, two wings and a large square<sup>e</sup> enclosure some 66 ft in depth, with a flat roof supported on ten rows of pillars somewhat in the Hindu style.<sup>3</sup> The whole structure of the building is simple. Its gates along with the walls were also pulled down by the orders of Sikandar Lodī.<sup>4</sup> It remained for years in a dilapidated condition but it has now been repaired and is in use.<sup>5</sup>

#### Lāl Drawāzah Masjid.

This masjid was built in 1447 A.D.<sup>6</sup> during the

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.50.
  2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.51-52. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.242.
  3. Ibid. P. Brown, The Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p4
  4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.50.
  5. Ibid. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.41.
  6. P. Brown, The Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.45. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.52-53. P. Brown wrongly mentions its date of erection as 1450, and so does Khair ud-dīn Muhammad (Jaunpūr Nāma), 806/1403. The inscription of this mosque gives the right data of its construction as 1447 A.D.

Plate IV: Jaunpūr: Front of Lāl Darwāzah Masjid.





reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, by Queen Bibī Rājī, who, as mentioned by Khair ud-dīn Muhammad, dedicated it to Hazrat 'Alī-Dā'ūd, a celebrated saint of Jaunpūr, whose descendants still live in the Mohella Namāz Gāh next to this masjid.<sup>1</sup> This Mohella was so named by Bibī Rājī, who also built here a monastery and a college. The college was staffed by capable 'Ulamā and scholars as professors, and admitted students from all over the country, many of them on scholarships.<sup>2</sup> The Lāl Darwāzah (lit. Ruby Gate Mosque) owes its name to the vermilion-painted, lofty gateway of Bibī Rājī's royal palace that once stood adjacent to it.<sup>3</sup> It is situated in the extreme northwest of the city in the aforesaid mohalla, which is also known by two other names, i.e. Bagam-Ganj and Lāl Darwāzah.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.51. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.52-53. S. Lane Poole, p.171.
  2. Jaunpūr Nāma, op.cit. Moulvi Muhammad Zubarī, Muslim Khwātin Kī Taḍlīm, Karachi, 1956, p.36 - mentions that one school for female education was founded in 845/1441 at Jaunpūr by the said queen.
  3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.43. P. Brown, op.cit. S. Lane Poole op.cit. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243. Khair ud-dīn Muhammad (Jaunpūr Nāma), and Mr. Nevil (D.G. Jaunpūr) are mistaken in calling this palace Badi'Manzal. The name of the palace was Mahal Bibī Rājī. For details, see pp.
  4. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. D.G. Jaunpūr, op.cit.

The style of the architecture of this masjid is similar to that of Jāmi' Masjid and Ātāla Masjid.<sup>1</sup> It is smaller in size and its edifice and walls are lighter and thinner than either.<sup>2</sup> It is built mostly of stone, but in certain parts bricks with cement have also been used. All the external as well as internal walls are so neatly tooled that one is compelled to admire the mastery of the builders. The fine joints of the walls are beautifully worked out, and in thickness hardly exceed that of the blade of a knife.<sup>3</sup> The columns and shafts in the whole building are of stone and those which are on the outer face of the cloisters in front of the courtyard are of one piece.<sup>4</sup>

The general plan of the whole building is as follows: the quadrangle containing the masjid measures 190'-0" by 171'-0" externally. But from the inside the masjid measures 168'-6" by 35'-4"; this space is divided

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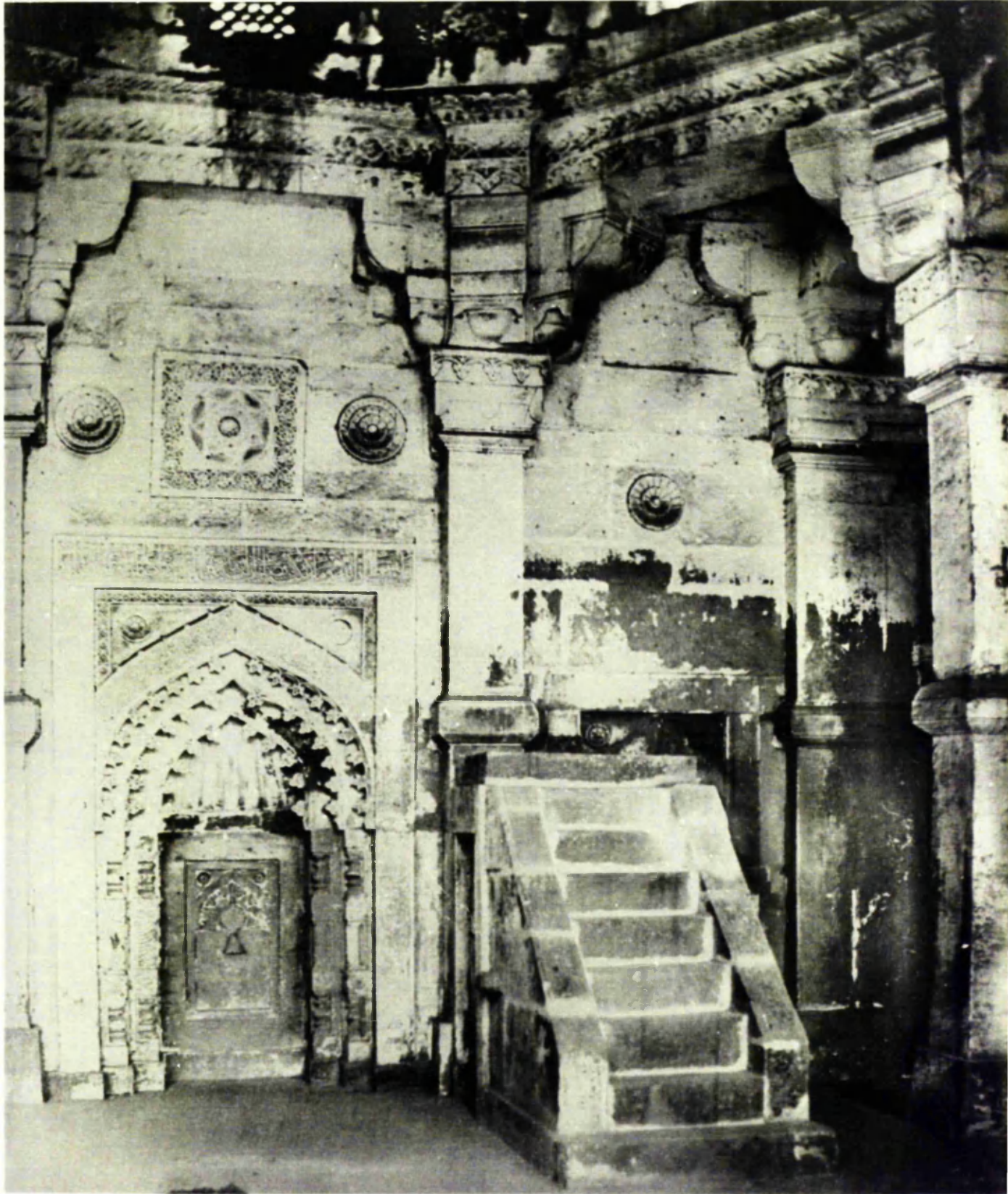
1. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45. S.Lane Poole, op.cit. p.171.

2. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.43.

3. Except those parts which were restored afterwards and which are very inferior to the real ones. For details see A. Fuhrer, op.cit.

4. A. Fuhrer, op.cit.

Plate V: Jaunpūr: Interior of Lāl Darwāzah Majid.



into three chambers, a central chamber and an oblong room on either side. These chambers consist of four aisles in depth and have fine openings towards the court yard as well as into the north and south cloisters. The central one is square in plan, each side measuring 22'-7½", and is roofed with a grand dome. In the front of this is an entrance hall, having a depth of three bays which forms a peculiar feature not found in the other Sharqī mosques. The roof of this hall is supported by slender pillars partly of Hindu design.<sup>1</sup> Further on each side of the central hall there is a raised gallery forming a second storey, to which the staircases lead, passing through the piers of the propylon. These galleries were known as Zanāna galleries and were used for prayers as well as other religious needs of women - a peculiar feature of all Jaunpūr mosques, which shows that special attention was given to the spiritual requirements of women folk.<sup>2</sup>

The mimber, i.e. pulpit, which projects from the western wall of the central chamber has oblong columns of equal height. These columns are square in shape,

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.44.  
D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.44-46. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244. P.Brown op.cit. p.45.



their inner row is single and outer one double.<sup>1</sup> The principal mehrab of this masjid is the finest of all the mehrabs and is oblong in plan. It is ornamented with cusped arches and other beautiful carvings quite different in design from that of Ātāla.<sup>2</sup>

The propylon of this masjid is 48'-6" high and 44'-9" wide, which slightly inclines towards its top, where its breadth becomes 43'-0". Its towers contain staircases leading to its top, where once the call to prayers was announced.<sup>3</sup> The façade of the towers has been divided into different storeys, which have been decorated with ornamented string courses as well as deep horizontal lines. The façade of the propylon is elaborately decorated. There are geometrical designs like seven-pointed stars enclosed by circles.<sup>4</sup> Then its great arch which connects the towers and has a double ogee form is remarkable. Above this arch, in the spandrels, are carved beautiful double rosettes. Here in the centre of

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1. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.46.

2. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.47.

3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.44.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.45.

its opening is a black stone inscribed with Kalmah.<sup>1</sup>

Its columns are square in shape and the space between them has been spanned by stone beams with admirable effect.

The grand dome which roofs the central chamber is 22'-8" in diameter and stands at the rear of the propylon. It is octagonal in shape and its total height is 4'-4½".<sup>2</sup> The sides which give it form are panelled and arched, and in each have been placed trellis windows to admit light. The top of this dome is crowned by a finial which stands on a large base like an inverted shell.<sup>3</sup>

It has three gateways, of which the eastern one, the main gateway, is the largest and most important. It stands on a massive panelled pedestal. It measures 25'-4" across the base and stands 30 ft high from the topmost step of the flight leading up the road.<sup>4</sup> This gateway has

1. Ibid. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I.p.45.

2. Ibid, p.45. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244 - is mistaken in describing its diameter as 22-2/3 ft.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.45. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.45.

towers on either side, which have highly decorated borders.<sup>1</sup> The spandrels of this arch where also runs a floral frieze is enriched by diaper work plain but effective in design.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the top of this gateway is crowned by a cornice having a carved corona.<sup>3</sup>

The façade of the outer wall is now in a dilapidated condition.<sup>4</sup> But its back wall, though plain in design, is similar to that of the Jami'Masjid, is still in good condition, and gives it a fort-like appearance.<sup>5</sup>

This masjid like other Jaunpūr examples was also partly built of the destroyed material of Buddhist and Hindu temples, which has been beautifully utilized in its erection.<sup>6</sup> Like other Sharqī monuments, this masjid also suffered at the destructive hands of Sikandar Lodī, who had also pulled down the splendid palace of Queen Bībī Rājī as well as the fine buildings of the college and monastery

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.45.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.47.

4. Ibid, p.47.

5. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244.

6. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.49.

adjacent to it.<sup>1</sup>

Jāmi' ush-Sharq

This is one of the splendid and large mosques of Jaunpūr. It stands in the Purānī Bāzār on the Kathan road in Mohalla, 'Umar Khān. Its foundations were laid by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī in 1438 A.D. but it was completed some time in 883/1478 by Sultān Husain Sharqī.<sup>2</sup> According to Khair ud-dīn Muḥammad, Sultān Ibrāhīm started building this mosque near the residence of Hazrat Khwāja 'Isā, to save him the trouble of walking a mile for his Friday prayers.<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī died, leaving the building incomplete.<sup>4</sup> Neither Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, ever busy with his local wars, nor

1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.52. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.46-49. E.B. Harell, "Indian Architecture", London, 1927, p.69. P. Brown "The Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)", p.45. E.B. Harell mentions its date of completion as 1470 A.D. and P. Brown as 1464 A.D. - both are incorrect. It is also known as Masjid-i-Kalān (Jaunpūr Nāma, p.45) as well as Jāmi' ush-Sharq.

3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. Jaunpūr Nāma, op.cit. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.52. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.46-49.



Plate VI: Jaunpūr: Jami'Masjid - Facade.



Sultān Muhammad, deeply involved in conflict with the Lodī power, found time to complete the edifice.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain Sharqī, despite his many wars, was able to carry the construction of the mosque to completion in 883/1478, just a few years before his final overthrow by Bahlūl.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar Lodī did not spare this masjid and destroyed its splendid inscribed gate. At the same time he pulled down the royal residential quarters which were adjacent to it, including a college as well as the cloisters of the masjid, the destruction of which very seriously affected the domes and the walls of the rest of the building.<sup>3</sup> Had not the learned scholars made an appeal that these noble Sharqī monuments should be spared, Sikandar would have perhaps up-rooted their foundations completely.<sup>4</sup> During the reign of Akbar, Sultān Sharqī's great grandson, 'Umar Khān, started its restoration. He had repaired some

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 52. Jaunpūr Nāma, p. 46.

2. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp. 46 and 90. P. Brown, op.cit. p. 45. E.B. Havell, op.cit., p. 69. D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 244. P. Brown is mistaken in writing the date of its completion as 1470 A.D.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp. 47-49. D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 244. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 53.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, op.cit.

of its cloisters, walls, and inner portions of the chamber, when he suddenly died. The rest of <sup>the</sup> building remained unrepaired. This was done, however, in later times and now this masjid is in a fairly good condition.

Essentially the plan of this masjid is similar to that of <sup>the</sup> Ātāla Masjid, but on a large scale.<sup>1</sup> The whole structure of the masjid stands on a terrace 16 to 20 ft high which slightly slopes towards the south. Its lower portion is almost equal in level with the road, and on the east, south and north sides, under upper cloisters, there are small rooms which are used now for shops and in front of them there is a verandah of 9'-7" in width.<sup>2</sup> On the west side stands the lower portion of the main structure of the masjid. Above the ranges of small rooms, i.e. the small shops and verandah on the northern, southern and eastern sides there are cloisters forming a second storey which surrounds the courtyard of the masjid, and which measures 221 by 221 ft.<sup>3</sup> In the middle of each of these three sides there are massive domed gateways, of

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1. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.45.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.52-53.

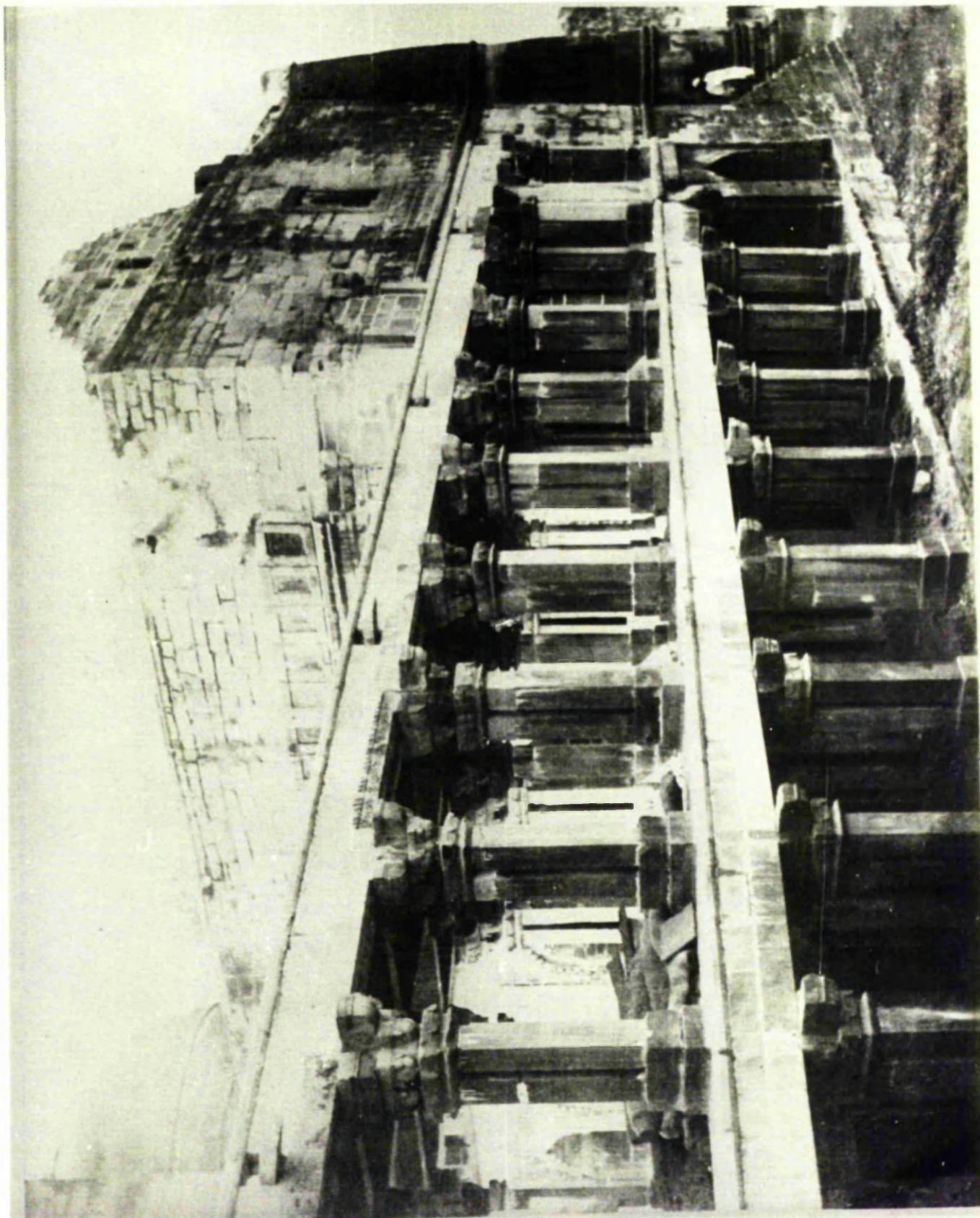
3. P. Brown, op.cit. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.244.

which the one on the east side was purposely destroyed by Sikandar Lodī, as has been mentioned before because of its Sharqī inscription.<sup>1</sup> The west side has as usual the main building of the masjid, which measures 235 ft by 59 ft excluding bastions and the angles.<sup>2</sup> This portion is divided into five rooms. One is a central chamber which measures 39'-8½" by 39'-8½" and is roofed by a grand dome.<sup>3</sup> On either side of it there are two pillared rooms which measure 25'-4" by 44'-7" and are surmounted by a Zamāna gallery.<sup>4</sup> Again on either side of these rooms there is an arched hall which measures 49'-3" by 39'-7½". Finally all these rooms are connected by arched openings.<sup>5</sup> The entire back wall of all these rooms towards the middle

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- 52-53
1. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, pp. 52-53. D.G. Jaunpūr, op.cit.
  2. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 53. D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 244.
  3. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. P. Brown, op.cit. p. 46. A. Fuhrer is mistaken in describing its measurements as 39'-7½" by 39'-8½".
  4. A. Fuhrer, Vol. I, p. 53. P. Brown, op.cit. p. 46. D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 245. P. Brown is mistaken in giving its height as 45 ft, length 56 ft and breadth, 40 ft.
  5. A. Fuhrer, op.cit, p. 55 - mentions its correct measurement whereas P. Brown is mistaken in describing its length as 50 ft and width 40 ft. The latter describes its height as 45 ft whereas A. Fuhrer measures it 44'-4½".



Plate VII: Jaunpūr: Jami'Masjid - North Exterior.



has the bays where in the middle of each is a Mehrāb; of these the central one is comparatively more decorated.<sup>1</sup> The details of the whole masjid are as follows.

The central chamber of this splendid masjid is the most imposing and ornate feature in size. Its surrounding walls are pierced by archways, except the western one, which is recessed with charming mehrābs. It is roofed by a sixteen-sided dome.<sup>2</sup> The design of this chamber has been drawn on the same lines as that of the Ātāla Masjid, with a few alterations necessitated by its large size, such as the clerestory arcade, which serves to provide light for the interior of the dome.<sup>3</sup> The internal height of this chamber is 67'-6" which makes it very impressive to look at.<sup>4</sup> Eight of the sixteen sides in the upper storey are arched and pierced and filled in with baluster-like work through which light flows and beautifies the whole chamber. The other eight sides are filled in with screen-work.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.54. P. Brown, op.cit. p.45.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.54. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.45.

4. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. P. Brown, op.cit.

5. A. Fuhrer, op.cit. p.55.

Below in the west wall there are three mehrab̄s, of which the central one is the largest and most beautiful. Near it stands the mimber, i.e. pulpit, which is 6'-0" in height and 4 ft in width.<sup>1</sup>

The stone-built dome of this noble fabric is a wonderful piece of workmanship.<sup>2</sup> As has been mentioned before, it roofs the central chamber in the rear of the propylon. It has an octagonal drum and its octagonal sides are arched, and richly ornamented with beautiful carvings and crown<sup>ed</sup> by a deep frie<sup>ge</sup>.<sup>3</sup> The base of its cupola is enriched by a band of arabesque and tile work, and in the latter red and white pigments have been elaborately used.<sup>4</sup> Its exterior shell is separate from that of the interior, and consists of a different segment of circles.<sup>5</sup> The outer side measures 67'-3" and the inner

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

2. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.245.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.56.

4. Ibid. E.B. Havell, p.69 - is mistaken in writing that all the Jaunpūr domes are surmounted by Hindu emblems. These domes have never been under such influence - but rather show their own originality.

5. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.54.

55'-3", having a difference of 12 ft.<sup>1</sup> As General Cunningham has said, there are two different domes, each about 3 ft in thickness with an empty space of 6 ft between them, thus actually forming a true height of 67'-6" from inside instead of 55'-3", and from outside 72'-6".<sup>2</sup> The total diameter of the dome is 39'-5". The spandrels of its octagonal sides are panelled and ornamented with pietra-dura.<sup>3</sup> Under its arches space is filled in with a pierced stone screen of eight panels through which the ladies of the Zanāna gallery could witness the religious services conducted below.<sup>4</sup>

The low, pillared side apartment on either side of the central chamber is 44'-7" in length, 25'-4" in width and is 13'-4½" in height, over which stand the Zanāna galleries. They have been divided into bays of square, decorated pillars, surmounted by bracket capitals. The construction and shape of the roof of these compartments are unique; it is supported by stone lintels and takes the form of a wide, pointed vault, recalling in several of

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.54.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.



of its aspects as Gothic college hall or a refectory.<sup>1</sup>  
 The western wall of each is ornamented by mehrābs.  
 These transept halls which are rare and unique, present  
 a very interesting study in Indian architecture. The  
 only other example which we have found is that of the  
 Ādīna Masjid at Paṇdua, which had been built about a  
 hundred years before, but that is inferior to this in  
 many respects.<sup>2</sup> Though the brick vault of these  
 vaulted chambers has fallen down, their roofs are still  
 intact and are in as good condition as they were at the  
 time of their erection, which shows that the method of  
 their construction was scientific and sound.<sup>3</sup>

The vaulted chambers at the south west angle of  
 the Masjid are 49'-3" in length, 39'-7½" in width and  
 44'-4½" in height.<sup>4</sup> The internal face of its southern  
 wall which is 7'-5" in thickness and contains a staircase  
 leading to the roof of the vaulted department has arched

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Vol.I, p.54.

1. A. Fuhrer,/ P. Brown, op.cit. p.46.

2. Ibid. Ādīna Masjid was built in 1384 A.D. - which measures  
 70' x 34 ft and 50 ft in height.

3. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.46.

4. Ibid - He measures these vaulted halls 50 ft x 40 ft and  
 45 ft in height.

Plate VIII: Jaunpūr: Jami'Masjid - South-West Exterior.



window openings with minor decorations.<sup>1</sup> The lower portion of the western wall is devoted to three mehrābs, of which the central one is the largest and most important and has richly carved architraves. Its soffit is domed.<sup>2</sup> This central mehrab has also panels of flat projecting ribs of black stone, the borders of which are richly carved.<sup>3</sup>

The northern vaulted chamber has the same design, but in decoration it differs to some extent from that of the first one. The difference is that its outer border is ornamented with a star pattern instead of floral carvings.<sup>4</sup>

The Zanāna galleries which surmount the pillared apartments on each side of the central chamber are another beautiful feature of this grand masjid. They can be approached by staircases which are inside the piers of the propylon.<sup>5</sup> There used to be another staircase which some-

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

5. Ibid.

times stood at the north-west angle of the masjid as an approach to the northern Zanāna gallery, but that was removed, owing to its instability, by the local authorities in 1887 A.D.<sup>1</sup> These galleries are oblong in shape, and are divided into bays six feet in length and three feet in width. Their ceiling is beautifully carved. The western wall of each gallery has been ornamented with mehrab̄s, the inner portion of which has been recessed. The inner side of these galleries has been decorated with rosettes and carved pietra-dura.<sup>2</sup>

The propylon which is 76'10½" at the base, 70'-10" on the top and 84'-4" in height, having little sloping walls of 3'-¼", is the most majestic piece of architecture in the whole building.<sup>3</sup> It is similar in design to that of the Ātāla Masjid, and stands on a raised platform of 16 ft above the road level, towering over the adjoining buildings, which makes it the most conspicuous object in the whole city of Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> Its two massive piers which project some 10 ft,

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.57.

2. Ibid, p.57.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.245 - gives its height 84-1/3 ft, and P. Brown, op.cit. p.85 - 77 ft.

4. A. Fuhrer, op.cit.

from the front of the façade are connected by a lofty arch, which is 72'-2" in height.<sup>1</sup> This arch resembles a saracenic arch and it has been ingeniously combined with the Hindu lintels; the entire piece shows great originality in construction and in harmonising the various parts, and reflects great merit on the masons and engineers of Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> These piers consist of five storeys, and, except the first one, are all arched and enriched with horizontal string courses.<sup>3</sup> They contain stairs leading to the roof of the masjid and from thence to the top of propylon.<sup>4</sup> So far as the spandrels of the main arch are concerned, they are decorated with raised diaper work.<sup>5</sup> The upper part of this huge arch has been pierced with nine arched openings and the lower with six and, with the exception of the topmost part, all the rest have been arched and cusped and also decorated on each side with carved rosettes.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Al-Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

2. E.B. Havell, The Indian Architecture, p.69.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.



Over them are many windows which connect the Zanāna galleries of the north with that on the south; and at the same time these windows provide light for the corridor.<sup>1</sup> The central entrance is elaborately decorated with pietra-dura as well as with carving and floral designs. The stone lintel ceiling of the grand entrance is also a very fine piece of panelled work.<sup>2</sup>

The façade of the propylon is pierced with arched openings. The exterior of other apartments apart from the central one is emphasised by a deep moulded string course as well as ornamented by panels. In the same way the north and south sides of the piers of the propylon have been ornamented by four oblong recessed panels.<sup>3</sup>

Of its three massive gateways two, i.e. the northern and the southern, have domed roofs.<sup>4</sup> They have a base of 40 ft and height of 43'-11½" and across the top measure 37'-10½".<sup>5</sup> They have square chambers in the

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.55.

2. Ibid.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.56.

4. Ibid, p.53.

5. Ibid, p.57.

rear which have been roofed by domes with an octagonal drum.<sup>1</sup> The approach to these gateways is by a steep flight of steps. The third eastern one which used to be the main gateway of this masjid is still in the same dismantled condition as it was left by Sikandar Lodī.<sup>2</sup>

Its edifice, like that of the Ātāla Masjid, has been constructed of ashlar stone and has been neatly tooled with fine joints. Its roofs and coping domes, like its external faces, are all floated in cement.<sup>3</sup>

#### Masjid 'Īd Gāh.<sup>4</sup>

This 'Īd Gāh stands in the mohalla Kat Garh on the other side of the river Gūmtī.<sup>5</sup> It was built by Sultān Husain Sharqī, who used to go there to say his prayers with great pomp and show, accompanied by his nobles, officials, scholars, students and troops, crossing the boat bridge which was usually built specially for this

1. Abul-Fahrer, Vol. I, p. 57.

2. Ibid, p. 53.

3. Ibid, p. 57.

4. Jaunpūra Nāma, pp. 55-60.

5. D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 247. It stands on the Allahābād road.

occasion. Later further additions such as a beautiful gateway, some chambers, a wall and a tank were also made there by Mun'am Khān during the reign of Akbar, and this 'Īd Gāh is still intact.<sup>1</sup>

Masjid Shaikh Sultān Mahmūd.

Shaikh Sultān Mahmūd, one of the grandees of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, built this masjid in Mohalla Shaikhūwārah. It had three great domes which have now disappeared along with the walls. The back wall and the great gateway alone remain to remind us of its past grandeur.<sup>2</sup>

Masjid Qadam Rasūl.<sup>3</sup>

This masjid stands between the shrines of Hazrat Sombres and Mīr Sadr Jahān Ajmal. There lies a very interesting reason behind its erection at this place, which has been mentioned in detail by Khair ud-dīn Muhammad. Khair ud-dīn mentions that at this spot once saint

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.56-58.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.86.

3. Ibid, pp.86-87.





(B) Minor Masjids of the Sharqīs Outside the Jaunpūr City.

Apart from the royal masjids and other masjids of the city of Jaunpūr, the Sharqī rulers who had great religious zeal erected masjids from time to time in different parts of their kingdom. Most of these which commemorated their faith and name for centuries are now in ruins because of the ravages of time.

Masjids of Thulendī.<sup>1</sup>

There are two stone masjids in the village of Thulendī in the modern district of Rāī Bareī. They were built by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī in 820/1417 and are still intact and make a picturesque scene in that flat country.<sup>2</sup> A ruined mud fort of the same ruler also exists there.<sup>3</sup>

Masjid of Dhopāp.<sup>4</sup>

Dhopāp is a village situated on the right bank of the Gūmtī, near the fort of Gharah or Shergarh in tahsil Qāzīpūr in the modern district of Sultānpur in Awadh.<sup>5</sup>

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.319.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp.326-27.

5. Ibid., p.326.

This village once used to be a famous town and still has some old Hindu and Muslim monuments. It has always been a place of pilgrimage for Hindus. The Sharqīs out of religious zeal found it necessary to erect here a masjid which still stands there, having three domes at present instead of the five which were originally built.<sup>1</sup> The only inscription which still remains there, engraved on a black stone in large letters, is Kalmah which has been arranged in the same way as that of the gold coins of the Sharqī Kings.<sup>2</sup>

Jami' Masjid Rāī Bareli.<sup>3</sup>

It was built by Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī.<sup>4</sup> It was later repaired by 'Ālamgīr in 1098/1686-87, as has been commemorated in an Arabic inscription.<sup>5</sup> It is still intact, though not in a good condition.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.327.

2. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.327.

3. Ibid, p.325.

4. Ibid, p.325.

5. Ibid, p.325.

6. Ibid, p.325.

Jāmi' Masjid of Jā'is.<sup>1</sup>

Jā'is is an old town in tahsil Saton in the district of Rāī Bareilī.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm found here a ruined temple and its scattered material and made up his mind to erect this Jāmi' Masjid, which crowns a hill.<sup>3</sup> Close by stands the Dargāh of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangīr Samnānī, who shut himself up in a cell here for forty days for his Chilla.<sup>4</sup> There is also a village by the name of the same celebrated saint, which is called Ashrafpur, and which is only three miles south of Jā'is.<sup>5</sup> Four miles south-east of Jā'is is the fort of Nasirābād which Sultān Ibrāhīm built there in the name of his prince.<sup>6</sup>

Jāmi' Masjid Machhlīshahr.

Machhlīshahr lies eighteen miles south-west of Jaunpūr and is the headquarters of a tahsil of the same

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.323.

2. Ibid, p.323.

3. Ibid, p.323.

4. Ibid, pp.323-24.

5. Ibid, p.324.

6. Ibid, p.324.

district.<sup>1</sup> It reflects the religious zeal of the Sharqīs, for the ruins of some seventeen masjids built by them still lie scattered there. Of these a Jāmi' Masjid which Sultān Husain Sharqī built, still stands in a good condition.<sup>2</sup> It appears that this place had been a great centre of the Shi'a sect as well. A Karbalā built by Shaikh Muhammad Karīm in the thirteenth<sup>th</sup> century and an 'Id Gāh built by Muhammad Mazalī in the sixteenth century still exist there.<sup>3</sup>

#### Masjids of Bihār.

After his consolidation of the province of Bihār Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī built there several masjids; he also appointed some Muftīs to propagate Islām. The earliest masjid was built in 1443 A.D. under the supervision of Sayyid Ajmal.<sup>4</sup> The inscription of this masjid also denotes the name of Nāsir Ibn i-Bahā, then the Muqti of Bihār, appointed by Sultān Mahmūd. There have also been found

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.185.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. R.R. Diwākar, Bihār Through the Ages, p.394.

two other congregational mosques built by the same ruler, one of which is at Pahārpūr.<sup>1</sup> This mosque is still in intact and its inscription which denotes its date of erection 1455 A.D. and was engraved by one Hazrat Ahmaḍ Balkhī Langar Daryā is still legible. Both the mosques are strong and handsome edifices.<sup>2</sup>

The Sharqī Sultāns might have built some masjids at Zafarābād which were quite close to Jaunpūr; and in the same way at other places such as Dalmaū, Tirhut, Chunār, Orissa and Bihar, but we do not find any reference to them.

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1. R.R. Diwākar, Bihār Through the Ages, p.394.

2. Ibid. Another mosque at Darbhanga built by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī in 1402 A.D. also exists. R.R. Diwākar, op.cit., pp.393-94.

## Section IV.

### Palaces of the Sharqī Kings and Queens.

Arriving at Jaunpūr Sultān ush Sharq Malik Sarwar soon discovered a beautiful site, where in the past Rāja Vijāya Chandra's palace of Kankar blocks (small rubbles) had once stood. This palace had been on the south side of the main road opposite the Hauz i-Khās.

He raised there a new building with  
Badī' Manzil the material of the old palace and  
 named it Badī' Manzil.<sup>1</sup> This new

palace was grand in appearance and was decorated with mosaic work. It continued to be used by the second ruler, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, as well as by Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī. The latter, who was the most cultured ruler of the Sharqī dynasty, made up his mind to change

his residence and build a new  
Chehal Satūn Palace palace. It took a long time to be  
 built up. The author of Subh i-Sādiq mentions that when this Qase (Palace) was on the verge of completion, he one night overheard the labourers

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.5. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.246. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.36.

talking, one saying to the other: "The palace of the Sultān (Ibrāhīm Sharqī) is practically finished and now there will be no need of workers. Where shall we get our means of subsistence from?" Next day the Sultān ordered the edifice to be dismantled. The foundations of the building were laid afresh.<sup>1</sup> The new palace after very prolonged labour came into being, and was named Chehal Satīn Palace, i.e. The Palace of forty pillars.<sup>2</sup> It had three grand storeys and was an architectural masterpiece, where Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī spent his whole life in carrying out social and cultural activities.<sup>3</sup>

#### Mahal Bībī Rājī.<sup>4</sup>

Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī's beloved queen, the Sayyid princess of Dehli, made up her mind to have a new residence. Accustomed to the comfort of the palace of Dehli, she did not find her father-in-law's palace to her taste. She

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1. Sayyid Hasan Askarī, Proceedings of <sup>the</sup> Historical Congress, 23rd Congress, Aligarh, part I, 1960, p.35.

2. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.238.

3. Ibid.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.243.



was deeply religious and her acts of piety have been recorded in the pages of Sharqī history. She built quite a few mosques among which Lāl Darwāzah Masjid predominates on account of many novel ideas. She ordered the erection of a new palace, the remains of which still stand near the Jami' Masjid, Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> This beautiful palace, known as Bībī Rājī Mahal, was oblong in shape and covered an area of 190 ft in length and 140 ft in width.<sup>2</sup> It had round turrets at the corners.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Sikanādar Lodī's vengeance did not spare it and like other palaces it was pulled down.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards it was partially repaired by 'Umar Khān, the great-grandson of Sultān Husain Sharqī, and remained in use for centuries by the descendants of the ruling house.<sup>5</sup>

Mahal Bībī Lādī.<sup>6</sup>

Queen Bībī Rājī also laid the foundations of

1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.246.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.52.

5. Ibid., p.76.

6. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.9-10.

another palace in the name of her beloved daughter, Bībī Lādī, on the banks of a stream outside Jaunpūr, which still flows between Karanja and Jaunpūr. The building was still in its primary stages when the long war broke out between Husain Sharqī and Bahlūl Lodī and thus it could not be completed. Bībī Rājī also built there a bridge, a few residential quarters, and a beautiful masjid, and named it Masjid Bībī Rājī, which still exists.<sup>1</sup> But the rest of the places, i.e. the bridge, residential quarters as well as the foundations of the Bībī Rājī Palace, were all destroyed by the ruthless hands of Sikandar Lodī.<sup>2</sup> Nothing now exists there except the ruins, which still convey an impression of the grandeur which was once an object of great pride.

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.76.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.9-10 and 13.

## Section V.

### The Sharqī Tombs and Shrines.

The Sharqī Sultāns, enthusiastic builders and fine architects that they were, also built their royal tombs, which still stand in Jaunpūr, (except that of Sultān Muhammad Sharqī which is in Dalmu). They also built tombs and shrines for famous saints and scholars who rose to eminence under their patronage. These tombs originally consisted of a rōom, roofed with a fine dome, with an enclosing bārādarī and a courtyard, or simply a dome supported by pillars on a stone platform. They were decorated with glazed bricks or mosaic work as well with Qurānic verses and Persian inscriptions recording the name of the buried one and the year of his death. They were surrounded by green parks, which have now mostly disappeared. Also cultivable land was allotted as Waqf to their caretakers. The ruthless hand of Sikandar Lodī did not spare the Sharqī royal tombs and destroyed their domes and inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> But even what remains is sufficient to prove their faith, regard and love of piety which was always reflected in the simplicity of

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1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.246.

their design. The tombs and shrines that survived Sikandar Lodī's demolition and the devastation of time are very few, and in a broken condition.

(A) Royal Tombs.

The Tombs of the Seven Kings (Jaunpūr).

About five hundred yards from the Ātāla Masjid is a place commonly known as "The Tombs of the Seven Kings".<sup>1</sup> The persons buried there include Shāhzādāh Nasīr Khān Malik Bahrūz, the younger son of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh and the first governor of Jaunpūr and Zafārābād. Among the Sharqī Sultāns here we have the tombs of Sultān ush Sharq Malik Sarwar, his adopted son, Sultān Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and his queen.<sup>2</sup> These tombs once stood in a large park and were originally covered with grand domes decorated with glazed bricks, which were pulled down by Sikandar Lodī.<sup>3</sup> The tombs originally were built on stone platforms, which are also now in a completely

1. D.G. Jaunpūr, pp.245-46 - is mistaken in mentioning that Mahmūd Sharqī is also buried here. The latter along with his wife is buried at a different place. See A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.63.

2. D.G. Jaunpūr, pp.245-46. Also see note No.1 above.

3. Ibid, p.246.

dilapidated condition.<sup>1</sup> The lane leading off the main thoroughfare which separates Mohalla Dhālgar from the Mohalla Machhībātā leads to this spot.<sup>2</sup>

The Tomb of Shahzādah Ibrāhīm (Jaunpūr).

Near Hazrat Sayyid Ajmal's shrine in Mohalla Sipāh of Jaunpūr stands the tomb of one un-named son of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> He was a disciple of Hazrat Sayyid Ajmal and was buried there at his preceptor's feet according to his own wish.<sup>4</sup> The grave of the prince is situated under a large and beautiful domed bārādari, which like its supporting pillars is built of stone.<sup>5</sup> Around this building there is a big graveyard and the cultivated land north of it also belongs to it, the income of which goes to its caretaker.<sup>6</sup>

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1. D.G.A. Jaunpūr, p.246.

2. Ibid.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.90.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.90.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

The Tomb of Queen Bibī Rājī, Consort of Sultān  
Mahmūd (Jaunpur).

Once a noble mausoleum, it has now only two graves covered with slabs.<sup>1</sup>

The Tomb of Sultān Muhammad Sharqī (Dalmau)

This is the only royal Sharqī tomb which was built outside the city of Jaunpūr. Dalmaū was a very important town where Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī not only built a fort but also a beautiful garden with a stone and brick well on the banks of the river Ganges which lies one mile south-east of this town.<sup>2</sup> Sultān Muhammad Sharqī, in a battle against his brother Husain Sharqī, was killed here and was also buried here.<sup>3</sup> This tomb stands in the garden of Mukhanpūr raised on a terrace; it is a simple edifice of no attraction.<sup>4</sup>

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.63. The other grave is that of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī. There is another grave at the foot of the marble sculpture, which A. Fuhrer is mistaken in describing as that of Husain Sharqī. The latter is buried near the north gate of the Atāla Masjid. See D.G. Jaunpūr, p. 245. That grave is perhaps of another prince.

2. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.320.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Tombs of Later Sharqīs (Jaunpur).

Near the north gate of Atāla Masjid there is a paved court, where a number of insignificant tombs stand. This place is known as Khāniqāh and is said to be the burial place of the Sharqī Kings. These tombs are not of early kinds but only of the last ruler Husain Shāh Sharqī and his descendants.<sup>1</sup> Though Husain died at Colgong, he was buried here in accordance with his wishes. One of these tombs is that of Husain Sharqī's son, Mahmūd, who fought as a military general on behalf of Emperor Humāyūm against Sher Shāh Sūrī in 1540 A.D. but was killed in the campaign at Kanauj and was buried here.<sup>2</sup> Mahmūd's son 'Umar Khān, the latter's son Sultān Husain, Qutb Khān, son of Sultān Husain, Hasan Khān, son of Qutb, and his sons, Mahmūd and Muhammad, are also buried here.<sup>3</sup> After that the gene<sup>a</sup>alogy becomes confused and thus we do not know to whom the rest of the tombs belong, as their inscriptions are not discernable now. The small domes on their supporting pillars have disappeared and their broken

1. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.246.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.14. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.21.

3. D.G. Jaunpūr, op.cit.

inscriptions are difficult to read. Also the large green park in which these tombs once stood has disappeared.

(B) Other Tombs and Shrines.

Shrine of Sulaimān Shāh (Jaunpūr).

Sulaimān Shāh, a well-known saint of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī's time, died in 1462 A.D. and was buried in Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> His shrine stands on the western side of the present district jail of Jaunpūr and the place is known as Dargāh of Sulaimān Shāh.<sup>2</sup> This building stands on a raised podium of about 65 ft square and is built of bricks and coated with cement.<sup>3</sup> The building is square and roofed by a dome, which externally measures 44'-6" by 44'-6" whilst internally the chamber is 29' by 29 ft.<sup>4</sup> Its sides are pierced by three arched openings, of which the central one in each case is a little larger. The soffits of its entrance are half-domed and panelled.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, pp.61-62. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.248. It is now situated within the jail compound.

2. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.62.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



Yet its angles are emphasised by slender octagonal columns right from the plinth to the top.<sup>1</sup> The internal walls are plain though relieved by riches and are decorated with glazed tile work.<sup>2</sup> The principal and most attractive feature in this building is its dome. The cupola of the dome is beautifully carved, and it seems that at one time it was beautifully ornamented in colour, traces of which are still seen.<sup>3</sup> There is one inscription written in Persian poetry, which denotes the year of Sulaimān Shāh's death and goes like this.<sup>4</sup>

سلمان شاد بد صیوان داد - نشد او راسی در خوی  
ز تار بخش شد دلایر بار - بگو سه مرتبه الله اکبر

"Sulaimān Shāh was the chosen of God;

None rivalled him in asceticism;

To find his date, reckon double Lām every time,

Repeat thrice. "God is Great" (867/1462)."

This place is very popular among the local inhabitants who often pay a visit to this holy shrine especially on Thursday nights.

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1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.62.

2. Ibid.

3. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.62.

4. Ibid.

Shrine of Hazrat Abū'l Fath Sambras (Jaunpūr).

Hazrat Abū'l Fath Sambras was a renowned saint of Sultān Ibrāhīm's time and the latter had great regard for this holy saint. He died in Jaunpūr and was buried there, where his tomb was erected by the said sultān and still stands in the Mohalla Sipāh of this town.<sup>1</sup> The garden that once enclosed this building is now desolate; the garden wall still exists though in a broken condition.<sup>2</sup> To the north of the main edifice stands another small chamber, built of stones, perhaps for its caretaker, but now in a bad condition. This shrine is regarded with great respect by the local inhabitants who light lamps here on Thursday evenings.

Shrine of Shāh Madār (Makhanpūr).

Shāh Madār, the renowned saint of India, was a native of Halib, Syria, who came to Makhanpūr, a village in the present district of Kānpūr, in 818/1415, during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Shārqī and settled down there.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.90. For details, see Chapter VIII, pp.

2. Ibid.

3. Mirāt i-Madariya, ff. 14-16. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, pp.169-70. For details, see Chapter VIII, pp.

Sultān Ibrāhīm had a great regard for this saint and after his death erected a tomb on his grave to commemorate his memory.<sup>1</sup> This shrine is situated on the bank<sup>s</sup> of the river Iṣan. The original tomb has a plain building of 31½ ft square and is covered with a low-roofed dome, which has further been covered with numerous coats of whitewash.<sup>2</sup> Its building stands in a courtyard about seventy feet square and is known as haram where no women are allowed, no food is cooked, no lamps are lighted and no hymns are chanted. There are two gateways to this noble tomb, and as their inscription indicates they belong to a later date. The first is called Chōr Kā Darwāzāh and according to its inscription was built in 873/1468 during the reign of Sultān Husain.<sup>3</sup> The second gate is called Sodāgar Darwāzāh, i.e. merchant gate and bears the date 899/1493-44.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

3. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, pp.169-70.

4. Ibid. Apart from Haram Darbār as mentioned above this shrine has five to six other Darbārs which have been built there from time to time, such as Rauza Mubārak, the courtyard which surrounds the tomb itself, Sānkar Darbār, Pakar Darbār, and Damāl Khāna. Emperor (H)urangzeb paid a visit to this place and adorned it with a beautiful masjid which stands adjacent to it and is known as 'Alamgīrī Masjid. There is another masjid of a later date, i.e. 1022/1611 built by Daulat Khān.

Thousands of people every year pay visits to this noble shrine and at the time of 'Urs (anniversary celebrations) people from all over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent go there to pay homage.

### Minor Tombs and Shrines.

Apart from these tombs and shrines there are many other edifices such as the shrine of "Sayyid Makhdūm Sa'id Ja'frī" of Jaunpūr, which was erected by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. It is situated near the main gateway of Jaunpūr fort and is visited by many.<sup>1</sup>

### Tombs of Qāzī Shihāb ud-din and his Wife. (Jaunpūr)

The tomb of the most renowned Qāzī and learned scholar of his time, Qāzī Shihāb ud-din, and his wife stands some forty feet from the south gate of Ātāla Masjid in the compound of the Church Mission High School.<sup>2</sup> It is surrounded by a brick wall 16½ ft square and is 3½ ft high, which contains both their graves.<sup>3</sup>

1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.325.

2. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.241. Tazkirih, p.89.

3. D.G. Jaunpūr, p.241.

Shrine of Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī  
(Kach<sup>h</sup>ucha)

Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī, the well-known saint and scholar who lived in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, was buried at Rasūlpur, also known as Kach<sup>h</sup>ucha fifty miles south-east of Faizābād in the same district.<sup>1</sup> This shrine had been under the supervision of the Sharqīs and is still a great source of attraction for hundreds and thousands of people who visit it every year.<sup>2</sup>

Shrine of Sayyid Ajmal (Jaunpūr).

Sayyid Ajmal, a contemporary of the holy saint Abu'l Fath Sambras, was also a saint of great reputation and had been the prime-minister of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> After his death the cultured king, i.e. Ibrāhīm Sharqī, honoured his grave with a grand tomb to which some additions were made later on.<sup>4</sup> His grave proper was at first built of hard stone, and later on faced by marble.<sup>5</sup>

1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, pp.320-21.

2. Ibid.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.89-90. He was also a contemporary of Qāzī Shihāb ud-din. For further details, see Chapter VII, pp.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, pp.89-90.

5. Ibid.

Local inhabitants venerate this place and often visit it to pay homage.

(C) Tombs and Shrines of Zafarābād.

There are many shrines and tombs of the Muslim period scattered in and outside Zafarābād. Of those the following are important and belong to the Sharqī period.

Shrine and Tombs of Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn and  
Other Members of His Family.

The renowned saint, Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn Āftāb-i-Hind, who migrated from Multān to Zafarābād to propagate Islām in this part of the country, died (795/1392-93) and was buried at Zafarābād.<sup>1</sup> His shrine was built by Zafar Khān.<sup>2</sup> Facing its doorway, stand the tombs of his (Āftāb i-Hind's) wife and a son.<sup>3</sup> To the west of this shrine is another tomb of his son Makhdūm Rukn ud-dīn.<sup>4</sup> On the east side of the latter's tomb lies the tomb of

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Jaunpūr Nāma,  
1. Ibid., pp. 12-14. This shrine lies in Mohalla Shaikhwārāh of Zafarābād.

2. D.G. India, Vol. XXV VIII, Oxford, 1908, p.333.

3. D.G. India, Vol. XXV VIII, p.334.

4. Ibid.

his (Rukn ud-dīn's) wife, who was a daughter of Malik Baiwa wazīr of Ghiyās ud-din Tughluq I.<sup>1</sup> To the south side of the said shrine lies the tomb of Zafar Khān (first Muslim governor of Zafarābād), and nearby the latter's tomb stands the tomb of his sister, another wife of Makhdūm Chirāgh is-Hind.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Tomb of Maulānā Bahrām.

Maulānā Bahrām, a great scholar and saint, was appointed Imām of the Jāmi' Masjid (also known as Masjid Shaikh Bārha), Zafarābād by Zafar Khañ.<sup>3</sup> He was also a disciple of Makhdūm Chirāgh-i-Hind.<sup>4</sup> He died in 829/1425-26 and was buried near Jāmi' Masjid, where his tomb, a very simple edifice, still exists.<sup>5</sup>

#### Tombs of Sayyid Murtzā and his Wife.

The tomb of Sayyid Murtzā, son of Makhdūm Āftāb

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1. D.G. India, Vol.XXVVIII, p.334.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.331.

4. Ibid, p.331.

5. Ibid. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, November, December, 1963, p.105.

i-Hind, and his wife, a daughter of Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī, stands in Zafarābād. It is a squat building, supported by twelve pillars, and which, including bracketed capitals, measured 7'-7" in height. It was very seriously affected by floods of the Gūmtī (1874 A.D.) and is now in a dilapidated condition.<sup>1</sup>

Shrine of Makhdūm Qiyām ud-dīn. Suharwardī.

He was a renowned scholar and saint (a disciple of Makhdūm Chirāgh i-Hind) of his time.<sup>2</sup> He died in 817/1414 and was buried in Zafarābād, where his tomb near the bank of the river Gūmtī still stands though in a dilapidated condition.<sup>3</sup>

Shrine of Bandagi Jalāl ul-Haqq Nāsihī.

Makhdūm Jalāl ul-Haqq Qāzī Khwān Nāsihī Zafarābādī was a grandson of 'Imād ul-Mulk, Wazīr of Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī.<sup>4</sup> He was a renowned saint of his time, who enjoyed a very long life (died 744/ 1343 ).<sup>5</sup> Emperor

1. D.G. India, op.cit. p.331.

2. Ibid, p.333. Tajalli-i-Nūr, pp.14-15.

3. D.G. India, op.cit. p.333.

4. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.15.

5. Ibid, p.18.



Humāyūn had great faith in him and tried to seek an interview but the said saint refused.<sup>1</sup> His shrine stands near the north-west corner of the old fort of Zafarābād.<sup>2</sup> The building of the shrine is surrounded with a wall and is a revered place for the local people.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Jainpūr Nāma, p.17.

2. D.G. of India, op.cit., p.334.

3. Ibid.

## Section VI.

### Public Works and Irrigation.

The Sharqīs were, by the standards of their age, good rulers. Direct evidence on their social activities is lacking, but there is some architectural evidence to show their interest in public welfare. Sultān ush Sharq Malik Sarwar came on the scene at a difficult time, but as the author of the Tabaqāt ī-Akbarī writes, within a few years he restored peace in his dominion and soon prosperity returned to the country, which had suffered for many years from famine.<sup>1</sup> It means that he took good care of the cultivators and provided them with facilities. The only solid proof we have is an inscription on a loose slab, not attached to any building, which was found in the modern district of Badā'un.<sup>2</sup> This inscription records the date

of the construction of a canal in 798/1395-  
CANALS. 96.<sup>3</sup> It is reasonable to presume that this  
 was not the only canal built by Sultān ush Sharq and his successors. In the same way we find mention

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.273.

2. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.23.

3. Ibid.

of some of the bridges built by the Sharqīs for the welfare of their subjects. The city of Jaunpūr, as has been mentioned before, is situated on the Gūmtī river and the whole area around it has many small streams. As the Sharqīs were always leading military expeditions, it may be reasonably inferred that they would have constructed many bridges to facilitate the movement of their troops. Evidence has

survived of only two bridges: one the BRIDGES. bridge over the stream of Ladlīpur built by Queen Bībī Rājī and the other on the Gūmtī near Jaunpūr about one mile to the west. Though this bridge was finally erected in 972/1564 by Mun'im Khān, its foundations were originally laid by Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī.<sup>1</sup> For the rest, what might have survived Sikandar Lodī's vengeance, has been taken care of by the ravages of time and floods.

GARDENS. Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī built a beautiful garden near the village of Makhanpur, on the banks of the river Ganges, and where at the same time a stone and brick well was also constructed. WELLS. ed(by him i.e. Ibrāhim Sharqī).<sup>2</sup> This

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.60. Here still exist one mosque and a hamam of Mun'im Khān Khān i-Khānāns' time.

2. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.320.

Plate IX: Jaunpūr: Stone Bridge over the Gūmtī, whose foundations were originally laid by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.



garden and well still exist, where now stands the tomb of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī.<sup>1</sup>

Though Sultān Husain Sharqī spent most of his reign in fighting against his formidable enemies, the Lodīs, yet he found time for cultural activities. He was deeply interested in architecture, music and painting and earned a high reputation in all. Husain, who built beautiful mosques in different parts of his kingdom, also rebuilt and founded CITIES. old and new cities. He rebuilt the city

Founded and of Rāī Bareī and renamed it Husainābād, Restored but this name did not last long.<sup>2</sup> He laid the foundations of the new city of Husainābād, which he could not complete, because of his numerous campaigns against Bahlūl. This place is a village now, and still commemorates his name, i.e. Husainābād in the pargana Kharīd of tahsīl Bansdih twelve miles north-east of the district town of Baliya.<sup>3</sup> In this village a tank of his time TANKS. which he constructed for the facilities of the local inhabitants still exists.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.320.

2. D.G. A'zamgarh, p.159.

3. Ibid, p.192.

4. Ibid, p.192.

## SECTION VII.

### Achievements of Sharqī Architecture.

Brown remarks that the Sharqī rule was a period of great architectural activity, and the architecture developed at Jaunpūr exercised great influence on the architectural achievements of other places.<sup>1</sup> Brown further remarks that if only Sikandar Lodī had not ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the Sharqī rulers, their buildings would have produced a provincial manifestation of Indian Islamic architecture of more than ordinary interest.<sup>2</sup> The buildings which have survived mainly comprise mosques, tombs and shrines, as well as dismantled palaces and forts. Of these the building which is most characteristic in style is Ātāla Masjid. This is the earliest example of Jaunpūr mosque architecture and in the freshness and vigour of style thoroughly expresses the stimulating intellectual influences by which it was surrounded. Indeed it furnished the model for all Jaunpūr mosques, though none excelled it. The last example of the architectural style of the Sharqīs can be cited is

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1. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.44.

2. Ibid.

the Jāmi' Masjid which was built by Sultān Husain, and with that their building career came to an end. The Ātāla Masjid as compared to the Jāmi' Masjid is an architectural gem of the Sharqīs, while the latter betrays signs of decadence in its depth of recesses and projections and in the treatment of the great pylon. The crying imperfection in the Jāmi' masjid is its front elevation. This disjointed and unfinished structure, bold and daring in its original conception, could not be a success. Here it seems as if the Jaunpūr architect's aesthetic sense failed then. It is also because, while the construction of the Jāmi' masjid was taking place, the Kingdom of Jaunpūr was passing through a severe political crisis.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the long famine had upset the whole economy.<sup>2</sup>

Of the pre-Sharqī period there is only one mosque: Shaikh Bārha's Masjid at Zafarābād, built in 1311 A.D. It consists of a large hypo-style hall of 65 ft side, with a flat roof of 20 ft in height, composed of stone beams supported by more than sixty pillars. The building, solidly constructed, has a crude appearance and there is very little

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1. For details, see Chapter V, pp.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.46.

to attract the eye. Yet, comparing it with the Sharqī mosques, one feels that it is quite possible that the bulky nature of its frontal portion, some ten feet thick, influenced the Sharqī architects in their basic ideas for the construction of the pylons of their façades, which finally became their outstanding characteristic.<sup>1</sup> In the same way some of the distinctive features in the Jaunpūr style such as battered walls, posted-lintel galleries, domed pinnacles and decorative arch soffits are all clearly traceable in the architecture of Fīrūz Shāh.<sup>2</sup> The transept hall of the Jami' Masjid, the roof of which is supported by stone lintels, and its final formation which is unique in Indian architecture also reflect some glimpses of the Ādīna Masjid of Pandua, built by Sikandar Shāh (1358-89) about one hundred years earlier.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P. Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), p.43. Shāntī Swrup, "The Arts and crafts of India and Pakistan", Bombay, 1957, p.66. E.B. Harel is mistaken in saying that in designing the façade/Sharqīs were impressed by/Hindu Temple, Gopurams.                      the                      the
  2. John Terry, The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture, p.12.
  2. P. Brown, op.cit. p.46. Outside Jaunpūr, the only example comparable to the Sharqī postal lintel is that of the Begum purī Masjid of Jehanpanah under the later Tughluqs. See John Terry, op.cit. p.12.



But Sharqī engineers assimilated these strains into a distinctive building style of their own.

Though the architecture of the Sharqīs may look coarse in character, yet it is bold, strong, purposeful and sincere. One also finds some signs of delicate elegance in the traceried pattern in the window openings, arches, and perforated screens, especially in the Ātāla Masjid. The contributing factors which give a special and individual architectural character to the Sharqī buildings, were, first of all due to the length of association of this province with Dehli as has been mentioned before; secondly the prevalence of an already developed indigenous art and, finally, their contact with the foreign craftsmen. The climatic conditions also helped them by necessitating special treatment, and above all the availability of the material was a great help.

Comparing the Sharqī architecture with the style of contemporary Dehli where the Sayyids and Lodīs were ruling, we find only a few specimens of tombs, such as the tomb of Mubārak Shāh (1421-34) at Dehli and those of 'Alā ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh (1434-45) and his family at Badā'un.<sup>1</sup>

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1. A. Cunningham, "Archaeological Survey of India", (Gangetic Provinces-Badā'un to Bihār), Calcutta, 1880, p.102.

These tombs are open pavilions surrounded by walls and have no great architectural magnificence or merit. There we find only such new features as the use of the blue enamelled tiling, the elaborate treatment of the surface and the use of the lotus finials over the domes.<sup>1</sup> But Jaunpūr builders, who produced such a mass of mosques, palaces, forts, tombs, and shrines, manifested in these individual architectural features. The fresh and unique character of the Jaunpūr masjids lies in their pylons which form the east front of their liwans. It reminds us of the pylons of Egypt. These Jaunpūr portals are already the fore-runners of the great Mughal gateways, of which the Buland Darwāzah of Fathpūr Sikrī is the most outstanding.<sup>2</sup> The chambers of the Jami' Masjid which have been roofed by stone vaults on a very large scale are unique. These are also fore-runners of the ingenious stone-roofed palaces of Akbar.<sup>3</sup> This further proves the highly skilled craftsmanship of the Jaunpūr builders who had such a lively imagination. Again one finds the same influence

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1. Shāntī Swrup, "The Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan", pp. 64-65.

2. John Terry, The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture, p.13.

3. Ibid.

in the Govind Dev Temple at Mathurā which was built in 1590 A.D., the roof of which is a true voussoir vault, unlike that of the Jāmi' Masjid of Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> Further, the Sharqī style also exercised some influence on the architectural productions of some other places, as may be seen in the Arhāī Kanjūrā Masjid of Benares, <sup>and</sup> the Jāmi' Masjids in the towns of Etāwah and Kanauj.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. P. Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p.47.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CULTURAL ACTIVITIES UNDER THE SHARQĪS.

#### Introduction.

The Sharqī monarchy is renowned for its cultural and artistic contributions to India of the Middle Ages. The anarchy caused by Tīmūr's invasion uprooted scholars and divines and they found no better place than Jaunpūr. The bounty of enlightened sovereigns such as Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī attracted scholars and divines, not only from Dehli and other parts of India but also from foreign lands such as Syria and Persia. Like Lucknow three centuries later, Jaunpūr became the refuge of men of learning from Dehli and elsewhere and, appropriately enough came to be called Dār-ul-aman, ("the city of peace").

Here flourished scholars such as Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī whom Sultān Ibrāhīm entitled Malik ul-'Ulāmā and whom Abū'l Fazl mentions as a man famous for his wisdom and learning. In the same way there flourished many others among whom the most famous were Maulānā Ilah Dād, Khwāja Abū'l Fath, Qāzī Nasīr ud-dīn Gumbadī, Maulānā Sharif ud-dīn and Qāzī Samā ud-dīn, and their students who carried on their traditions and increased

the fame of Jaunpūr. Both Arabic and Persian served as vehicle of literary activity at Jaunpūr. The subjects which specially received the attention of Jaunpūr scholars were tafsīr (commentary of the holy Qurān), hadīs (traditions and sayings related to <sup>the</sup> Prophet Muhammad, his companions and successors) and fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). In fact no contemporary scholars in other parts of India can be compared with them and most of their works are considered to be authoritative. Thus for many years Jaunpūr outshone in brilliance the imperial city of Dehli as well as other provincial centres of the period.

All the Sharqī rulers and their imperial consorts encouraged education and established madrasas where different subjects were taught and facilities were provided for students. They did not neglect the education of women and, as Maulvī Muhammad Amīn Zubarī has mentioned, Bībī Rājī, the famous queen of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, built many schools and colleges for the education of women in different parts of the kingdom of Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> Thus Jaunpūr enjoyed the reputation of a celebrated university centre. Even during the time of Muhammad Shāh (1719-20 A.D.), the

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1. Muslim Khawwātīn Ki Ta'līm, p.26.

Mughul ruler, there existed twenty famous schools in Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> The number would have been much larger in our period when Jaunpūr was at the zenith of its fame. It is said that when Emperor Humāyūn visited the court of Shāh Tehmāsap of Irān the first thing the Shāh asked him was: "How are the scholars and divines of Jaunpur?"<sup>2</sup> Emperor Humāyūn had great regard for the achievements of Jaunpūr in the field of Art and Architecture and had even tried to restore the monuments partially destroyed by Sikandar Lodī.<sup>3</sup>

His great-grandson, Shāh Jahān, in turn made Jaunpūr the Shirāz of India, because of its literary and artistic achievements.<sup>4</sup> The tradition of cultural pursuits and literary activities still survives in and around Jaunpūr in various centres such as Chiryā Kot, Sarā-ī-Mīr, and A'zam Garh.<sup>5</sup>

The Sharqī rulers were equally liberal towards

1. A. Fuhrer, Vol.I, p.22.

2. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.5.

3. Ibid, p.25.

4. Shāikh Muhammad Ikram, Ab i-Kausar, p.508.

5. Ibid, p.509.

their Hindu subjects, who enjoyed all the necessary civil and religious rights. They confirmed the local Rājas on their thrones.<sup>1</sup> The freedom which the Hindus enjoyed in Jaunpūr and elsewhere was, in our view, certainly one of the factors which enabled Hinduism to throw up the reformist movement known as Bhaktī. The leaders of Bhaktī preached and wrote in local dialects which both directly and indirectly enriched Hindī literary activities. Apart from Vidyāpati, the literary genius of Hindī literature, there were many others such as Kabīr and his followers who attained fame in this respect. Among the Muslims the name of Shaikh Qutban, a court poet of Husain Sharqī, is very prominent in this respect.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time the fine arts flourished. The name of Sultān Husain Sharqī again stands pre-eminent in this respect. He patronised painting and music. He himself was a skilled painter<sup>3</sup> as well as the greatest

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1. Kīrti Lāta, pp. 14-18. For details, see Chapter II, pp. and Chapter V, pp.

2. For details about the development of Hindī literature under the Sharqīs, see pp.

3. Motī Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, p.38.

musician of Medieval India after Amīr Kh̲usraw Dehlvi.<sup>1</sup>

Sources for the cultural activities of this period are scattered and provide only scanty information. Arabic and Persian literary activities have been described in the biographies of the 'Ulāmā.

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1. Mirāt ī-Āftab Numā, p.511. For details concerning  
paintings and music, see pp. and pp. 1



## Section I.

### (A) Literature under the Sharqīs.

#### Arabic and Persian Scholars of Zafarābād and their Contribution.

##### Mullā Nizām ud-dīn 'Allāmī.

He belonged to a Sayyid family. Equally at home in esoteric and exoteric branches of learning, he was considered an authority in Hadīṣ and was entitled Zubadāt ul-Muhaddsīn by his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> He was also an authority on Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) and Usūl (fundamental sciences) as well.<sup>2</sup> In the early part of his life, he followed the teaching profession, and hundreds of students profited from his instruction.<sup>3</sup> In later years he absorbed himself in mysticism, and accepted the discipleship of Hazrat Nizām ud-dīn Auliya.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards he completed his spiritual discipleship with Maḥdūm

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.22.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Asad ud-dīn Āftāb-i-Hind and also received from him Khirqā-i-Khilāfat (mantle of spirituality).<sup>1</sup> He later on accompanied the Āftāb-i-Hind to Zafarābād where he lived in Mohalla Sayyidwārāh.<sup>2</sup> Apart from being a great scholar he was also a prolific writer in both Arabic and Persian. His famous work in Arabic is Zād ul-Salhā and in Persian Zād ul-Sālikīn. He was a renowned poet of his time as well, and composed poetry of considerable merit.<sup>4</sup> He died at Zafarabad in 835/1431.<sup>5</sup>

Sayyid Nūr ud-dīn Abī Muhammad.

He was born in 734/1333 in Madīna and was the second son of Maḥdūm Asad ud-dīn Āftāb i-Hind.<sup>6</sup> He was one of the most learned scholars and sūfīs of his time,

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.22.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp.22-23.

4. Ibid, p.23.

5. Ibid, p.23 - mentions his year of death 735/1334 which seems to be a printing mistake, as it does not correspond with the rest of the circumstances of Mulla Nizām ud-dīn 'Allāmī's life.

6. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.10.

deeply cultured and highly respected by all.<sup>1</sup> He was a pupil of his own father, who taught him Arabic grammar, Fiqh, Mantiq (Logic) and Tafsīr (commentary of the holy Qurān).<sup>2</sup> Afterwards his father handed him over to Mullā Qayām ud-dīn Zafarābādī, under whom he finally completed his studies.<sup>3</sup> He also studied Hadīs under Mullā Nizām ud-dīn 'Allāmī Zafarābādī and received a certificate as a learned Muhaddis of one thousand and forty Hadīs.<sup>4</sup> He was considered to be one of the most learned scholars of Zafarābād. His main profession was teaching and he taught thousands who further continued his tradition at various centres.<sup>5</sup> He had also obtained Khirqā-i-Khilāfat from his father and after his death succeeded to his gaddī.<sup>6</sup> He was a scholar of theology as well as of the spiritual disciplines and contributed to the latter, clearing up many of its problems.<sup>7</sup> He spent

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.10.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, p.11.

his later years in practising and teaching the spiritual disciplines and was often seen in spiritual ecstasy.<sup>1</sup> He died in 826/1422-23 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and was buried in Zafarābād near the tomb of his respected father.<sup>2</sup>

Sayyid Qutb ud-dīn Abū'l-Ghaib.

He was born in 802/1399-1400 and was the son of Sayyid Nūr ud-dīn Abī Muhammad.<sup>3</sup> His father taught him Arabic and Persian till he was fifteen.<sup>4</sup> He completed his education under the supervision of Malik ul-'Ulāmā Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī. He was/<sup>a</sup>gentle, intelligent and hardworking student, who mastered all the subjects within a few years, and was placed among the chief and most reputed students of the celebrated Qāzī.<sup>5</sup> Apart from being a learned scholar, he also committed to his memory the holy Qurān,<sup>6</sup> and went to Makkah on pilgrimage

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.11.

2. Ibid, p.11.

3. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.11.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, pp.11-12.

6. Ibid, p.12.

as well.<sup>1</sup> Spiritually he was a disciple of his father, who taught him different mystic disciplines, and finally he received Khirqā i-Khilāfat of the Suhrawardiya Order.<sup>2</sup> He succeeded to his father's gaddī on the latter's death. He taught different subjects to many students and also trained them in matters of spirituality.<sup>3</sup> He also came into contact with Shāh Badī'ud-dīn Madār, who effected a great change in him, with the result that he left all his worldly affairs and shut himself in a prayer cell.<sup>4</sup> He died in 869/1464-65, during the reign of Sultān Husain Sharqī.<sup>5</sup>

Qāzī Tāj ud-dīn Nāsihī.

He was descended from the family of Sultān Ibrāhīm bin Adham, king of Balkh, and from there had migrated to Dehli.<sup>6</sup> Qāzī Tāj ud-dīn was an accomplished scholar and a follower of the esoteric path.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.13.

2. Ibid, p.13.

3. Ibid, p.13.

4. Ibid, p.12.

5. Ibid, p.13.

6. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.20.

7. Ibid.

He had also committed to memory the holy Qurān and was also an accomplished elocutionist.<sup>1</sup> After completing his studies he taught for many years.<sup>2</sup> Later on he showed great interest in mysticism, accepted the discipleship of Makhdūm Āftāb-ī-Hind and is said to have obtained the highest spiritual bliss.<sup>3</sup> He came to Zafarābād to take part in a holy war in the company of his Shaikh, i.e. Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind. Afterwards he lived there, and the place of his residence became known as Mohalla Nāsihī.<sup>4</sup> He was appointed to the post of Qāzī of Zafarābād, where he died in 831/1427 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>5</sup> He left many capable students who continued his traditions, and some of his descendants such as Makhdūm Bāndagī Jalāl ud-dīn Haqq Qāzī Khān Nāsihī were also reputed saints.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Taḥallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.20.

2. Ibid, p.21.

3. Ibid, p.21.

4. Ibid, p.21.

5. Ibid, p.21.

6. Ibid, p.21.

Mullā Rukn ud-dīn Yak-Lakhī.

He had committed to his memory one lakh Hadīs, for which he was known as Mullā Yak Lakhī.<sup>1</sup> As a follower of Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind, he had come to Zafarābād.<sup>2</sup> He was a profound scholar of spiritual as well as of temporal knowledge, and was unique in this respect in his time.<sup>3</sup> He was also fond of mathematics.<sup>4</sup> It is said that his face always shone with spiritual light.<sup>5</sup> He died in Zafarābād in 820/1417 and lies buried by the side of the grave of his Pīr,<sup>6</sup> (Spiritual guide). His descendants such as Makhdum Qutb ud-dīn Bīnā ī-Dīl Jaunpurī, Shāikh Nūr Nūrpurī, and Shāh Fath Qalandar Qalandarpurī also attained fame as saints.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.24.

2. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.24.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

Maulānā Sayyid Ya'qūb Shāmī.

He was born, brought up, and educated in Syria.<sup>1</sup> He became an accomplished scholar of the exoteric subjects there, excelling especially in the art of disputation.<sup>2</sup> He became a teacher and taught for a number of years.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards he served in the army for a few years.<sup>4</sup> Then he abruptly decided to quit his job and, leaving Syria, thought of going to India.<sup>5</sup> First he reached Multān where he paid homage to the shrine of Shaikh ul-Islām Bahā ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, and also lived there for some years.<sup>6</sup> Then he moved to Zafarābād where he became a disciple of Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind, under whom he completed his esoteric studies.<sup>7</sup> He is said to have attained the highest spiritual bliss and, continuing his

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.25.

2. Ibid, p.25.

3. Ibid, p.25.

4. Ibid, p.25.

5. Ibid, p.25.

6. Ibid, p.25.

7. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.25.



Shaikh's traditions, he became a reputed saint and scholar of his time.<sup>1</sup> He died in Zafarābād and was buried near the bank of the Gūmtī river close to the shrine of Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind.<sup>2</sup>

Mullā Shaikh Ādam.

He was also one of the disciples of Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind and followed the latter during the holy war of Zafarabad.<sup>3</sup> He was an accomplished scholar of all the esoteric and exoteric subjects and is said to have been the most learned scholar of his time.<sup>4</sup> He also received Khirqā i-Khilāfat from his Shaikh.<sup>5</sup> He spent his whole life in teaching and practising spiritual pursuits and never took any interest in any worldly affairs.<sup>6</sup> He followed the principle of tawakkul (absolute dependence on God) and led the life of a saint.<sup>7</sup> He died in

1. Tajalli-i-Nur, Vol.II, p.26.

2. Ibid. p.26.

3. Ibid, p.26.

4. Ibid, p.26.

5. Ibid, p.26.

6. Ibid, p.26.

7. Ibid, p.26.

838/1434 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and was buried quite close to the tomb of Mullā Yak Lakhī.<sup>1</sup>

Maulānā Badr ud-dīn.

A disciple of Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind as well, and a descendant of Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Dehlvi, he earned a great reputation as a proficient scholar of Fiqh, Ūsūl, Tafsīr, Mantiq (Logic) and Hadīs.<sup>2</sup> A brilliant teacher, he devoted the rest of his life to teaching and had numerous students.<sup>3</sup> He led a simple life and is said to have been very generous-minded towards his contemporaries. Whatever he earned he always spent on the needy.<sup>4</sup> He was a follower of the exoteric path. He died in 845/1441 and was buried to the left of the shrine of his Shaikh in Zafarābād.<sup>5</sup>

Maulānā Shaikh Bahrām.

He was also a learned scholar of Fiqh, Ūsūl,

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.26.

2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, pp.26-27.

3. Ibid, p.26.

4. Ibid, p.26.

5. Ibid, p.27.

Tafsīr and Hadīs, but above all was deeply interested in Ma'qūlāt (rational studies).<sup>1</sup> He excelled in Mantiq and it is said that, owing to this fact, he became known as Mullā Mantiq Tōla.<sup>2</sup> He also committed to memory the holy Qurān. He also went on a pilgrimage to Karbala.<sup>3</sup> He spent his early life at Dehli, but, when prince Zafar Khān was appointed to Zafarābād, he joined the latter, and was appointed Khatīb (preacher) of Jāmi' Masjid at Zafarābād.<sup>4</sup> It is said that one day as he was delivering a lecture to his students on logic, while passing that way Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind heard him and, accosting him, observed that Maulānā Bahrām loved to spend his life in understanding and discussing the problems of the world, yet had not understood the reason why God had created this world.<sup>5</sup> Maulānā Bahrām took this reprimand to heart and felt so ashamed that he forsook everything and became a disciple of the Makhdūm.<sup>6</sup> After-

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.27.

2. Ibid, p.27.

3. Ibid, p.27.

4. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.27.

5. Ibid. p.27.

6. Ibid. p.27.

wards he never touched his books and spent the rest of his life in praying and practising mystic disciplines.<sup>1</sup> He died during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī in 829/1425 and was buried next to the Jāmi' Masjid where he used to be Imām (leader of prayers).<sup>2</sup>

Mullā Husām ud-dīn/Shāikh Baran.

He was one of the descendants of Maulānā Bahrām.<sup>3</sup> A great scholar in divers subjects, he was considered to be the foremost among the learned men of his time.<sup>4</sup> He followed the teaching profession and had numerous students.<sup>5</sup> One day he attended the seminar of Makhdūm Taiyab Zafarabādī and was so much affected by his preaching that he at once accepted his discipleship.<sup>6</sup> Afterwards turning his back on the world, he spent most of his time in mystic exercises for which the corner of the Jāmi' Masjid of

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1. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.27.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.27.

6. Ibid, p.28.

Zafar Khān was his favourite place.<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been a saint of great virtues.<sup>2</sup> He died at the age of sixty-three and was buried near the east side of the mosque.<sup>3</sup>

Shāh Mas'ūd Khilwatī.

He was one of the renowned scholars of his time.<sup>4</sup> He studied Fiqh and other subjects under Maulānā Ilah Dād Jaunpūrī.<sup>5</sup> Apart from that he was a disciple of Makhdūm Bandagī Jalāl ul-Haqq Qāzī Khān Nāsihi Zafarābādī.<sup>6</sup> He is said to have spent twelve years in solitude (Khilwat) practising his mystic disciplines, and so came to be known as Khilwatī.<sup>7</sup> His shrine stands outside Zafarābād near the village of Rāmdās.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.28.

2. Ibid, p.29.

3. Ibid, p.29.

4. Ibid, p.30.

5. Ibid, p.30.

6. Ibid, p.30.

7. Ibid, p.30.

8. Ibid, p.30.

## Section II.

### Arabic and Persian Scholars of Jaunpūr and their Contribution.

#### Maulānā Sharf ud-dīn Lahaurī.

Invited there by Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, who built for him a monastery as well as a madrasa near the principal mosque of the city,<sup>1</sup> Maulānā Sharf ud-dīn was the earliest scholar of Jaunpūr. He is described as the noblest of the noble and a most learned scholar of his time. Apart from being a famous teacher, he was also a prolific writer and composed many standard books such as Sharh-i-Kāfiya-i-Nahv, a glossary on Sharh-i-Azūdi, and a Hāshiyah on Tafsīr i-Baizawī.<sup>2</sup>

He was also a saint of high merit and taught his students the merit of tawakkul (absolute dependence on God). But he was never against the acquisition of the bare necessities for a modest subsistence.<sup>3</sup> He

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.VII, No.2, December, 1963, p.79.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

always advised his students to adopt a profession as a means of livelihood. He believed that to live righteously in this world for a moment is better than living a thousand years in the next.<sup>1</sup>

Qāzī Nasīr ud-dīn Gunbadī.

He comes from a Shaikh family of Dehli, but, when Tīmūr invaded Dehli, he migrated to Jaunpūr, where the Sharqī rulers honoured him and even appointed him to the post of a Qāzī of Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> He was a favourite student of Qāzī 'Abd ul-Muqtadir, the famous scholar and saint of Dehli. Qāzī 'Abd ul-Muqtadir took a great interest in Qāzī Nasīr ud-dīn's education and helped him to master all the esoteric and exoteric subjects.<sup>3</sup> He enjoyed a prominent position among contemporary scholars and taught Islāmic subjects to many students for a number of years.<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning that his contemporary, Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī, sent a copy of his celebrated Kāfiya

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1. A. Hālim, J.A.S.P., Vol.VII, No.2, December, 1963, p.79.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.32. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.176.

3. Ibid. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, op.cit. Tazkirah, p.238.

4. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, op.cit.

i-Nahv (a book on syntax) for his approval and inclusion in his syllabus and his course of lectures. But Qāzī Nasīr ud-dīn did not think much of it and returned it, simply remarking that it was well written and did not need any lectures to be delivered on.<sup>1</sup>

Qāzī Nasīr ud-dīn was a saint of high spiritual powers and had been blessed by saints of different Orders.<sup>2</sup> It is said that in the last years of his life he became entirely absorbed in spiritual pursuits and withdrew himself to a dome (Gunbad) outside the city. He expired there, was buried there and so came to be known as Gunbadī.<sup>3</sup> He possessed no worldly things. In later years he refrained from any dealings with kings and nobles and never liked to accept any presents from them. His disciples in his monastery, it is said, used to keep themselves standing by holding chains lest they might fall down because of their physical weakness, owing to starvation.<sup>4</sup>

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Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.32.

1. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, op.cit. Tazkirah, op.cit.

2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, op.cit.

3. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.32. This place is to-day in Mohalla Chāchakpur of Jaunpūr, near the railway road, but the domes of its tomb have fallen down, owing to the ravages of time. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.33.

4. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.176. Tazkirah, p.238.



He also wrote many books, but none of them became popular because he had not been able to pay much attention to his writings.<sup>1</sup> He died in 817/1412 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>2</sup>

Malik ul-'Ulāmā Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī.

He belonged to a Shaikh family and originally came from Ghaznī.<sup>3</sup> He was brought up at Daulatabād in the Deccan, but his education was completed in Dehli under the learned teacher, Qāzī 'Abd ul-Muqtadir, the grandfather of the famous saint, Khwāja Abū'l Fath Sambras Jaunpūrī.<sup>4</sup> Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn was extremely intelligent

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1, Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II. p.33.

2. Ibid.

3. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.33. Tazkirah, pp. 88-89.

4. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.36b. Tajallī-i-Nūr, op.cit. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.147. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.390 and 396. Tazkirah, op.cit. Qāzī 'Abd ul-Muqtadir was also invited to Jaunpūr by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. When he arrived Sultān Ibrāhīm came to escort him, rode in the rear of the holyman's suite, and helped him dismount from his horse. Afterwards he made the holy man sit on the throne while he stood up along with his nobles. Qāzī 'Abd ul Muqtadir held weekly devotional meetings and is said to have converted a large number of Hindus at each of these prayer meetings. He stayed in Jaunpūr for a complete year. Before he left for Dehli he left with the king his son, 'Abd ul Wahīd. See for details, Khazīnat ul-asfiya, p.24. Badā'uni, Vol.I, p.332.

and had an excellent memory.<sup>1</sup> His mental powers greatly impressed his teachers. The author of Tazkirah-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind relates, on the authority of Manaqib ul-Sadiqīn, how a remark by Qāzī 'Abdul-Muqtadir, became a turning point in Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn's career.<sup>2</sup> After this he was so interested in his education that he became accomplished in all esoteric as well as exoteric subjects at quite an early age.

He was also a disciple of Maulānā Khwājgī in whose suite he travelled while fleeing from Tīmūr's hordes from Dehli. Maulānā Khwājgī went to Kālpī, but Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn was invited to Jaunpūr by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who appointed him to the post of Chief Qāzī of Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> The Sultān presented him with a silver chair

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1. Once Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir remarked that he had a student whose mind, body and hair were made of knowledge and he was Shihāb ud-dīn. See Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.141.
  2. It is mentioned that once he found some gold in his childhood and suggested to his mother to hide it in some grave. When he went to his teacher Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir, the latter looked at his face and said that he was anxious to hide the gold in some grave, how would he earn the truth of knowledge. See Tazkirah, p.134.
  3. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, pp.33-34. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.170. Tazkirah, p.88.

in his Darbār (Royal Court) and also honoured him with the title of Malik ul-'Ulāmā, ie, the Chief of the learned.<sup>1</sup> He earned here a very high reputation which soon spread to the whole of India, and even to Persia and Arabia. Many of his contemporaries, chief among them the sons of Maulānā Ahmad Thānīsī, grew jealous of him because of his eminence. Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn wrote about his trouble to his revered Pīr, Maulānā Khwājī at Kālpī, who in reply quoted two couplets of Shaikh Sa'dī commending the virtues of silence and forbearance.<sup>2</sup> He also had quarrels with Sadr i-Jahān Sayyid Ajmal of Jaunpūr where he (Qāzī Shihāb ud-din) pleaded for the superiority of an 'Ālim (learned scholar) against the one who belonged to the Prophet's family. But later on, taking a hint from a dream in which he saw the holy Prophet in an angry mood, he wrote the Manāqib ul-Sādāt in a mood of repentance, extolling the members of the Prophet's family and claiming for them a privileged position.<sup>3</sup>

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- Tazkirah, p.88.
1. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.368 and 390. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, op.cit., p.34.
  2. Akhhār ul-akhyār, p.142. Tazkirah, p.88. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.34.
  3. Ibid. Akhhār ul-akhyār, p.176. Tazkirah, p.88. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.391.

Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn was also a notable saint. He had received spiritual guidance from his Pīr Maulānā Khwājgī, and also from Makhdūm Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī.<sup>1</sup> He adhered strictly to the laws of Sharī'a.<sup>2</sup> He had some unpleasant discussions with Shah Madār, who, though a saint of great spiritual powers, was not particularly mindful of the strict laws of Sharī'a. Thereafter the two were not on good terms.<sup>3</sup>

The Qāzī was famous as a teacher. Sultān Ibrāhīm built a special mosque and a madrasa where the Qāzī taught hundreds of students.<sup>4</sup> Many of them spread the knowledge of Islamic learning far and wide. The Qāzī was a poet too and composed a Dīwān (collection of poetry) by the name of Jāmi'ul Sanāi'.<sup>5</sup> He was also a prolific writer. He wrote Sharh-i-Kāfiya, i.e., the commentary on the well-known Arabic grammar of Jalāl

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1. Khazīnāt ul-Asfiya, p.390. / Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, pp.35-36.

2. Ibid, p.36.

3. Ibid, p.36.

4. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, pp.35-36.

5. Akhbār ul-akhyār, pp. 175-76. Khazīnāt ul-asfiyā, p.391. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.34.

ud-dīn Abū 'Usmān bin 'Umar better known as Ibn ul-Hājib (d. 648/1248), also known as Sharh-i-Hindī. This book is unique in its style and became famous in his lifetime.<sup>1</sup> Another important book of his was Kitāb-i-Arshād,<sup>2</sup> (on syntax). Other important books and treatises of his were Badī'ul-Mizān, (a treatise on the science of eloquence), Risālah-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī, (a treatise on jurisprudence dedicated to his patron), Manāqib-i-Sādāt, Usūl-i-Baizāwī (on jurisprudence), Taqīm-i-'Ullūm (a treatise explaining different subjects and consisting of seven chapters), Sharh-i- (commentary) on the Qasīdah of Banāt-i-Sa'd - Qasīdah in praise of the Prophet by Ka'b ibn yahyā, d. 661 AH/1262-63), Usūl-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī (in Arabic in which he discussed all the problems of Sharī'a), and Bahr i-Mawwāj, a Tafsīr (commentary) on the holy Qurān in the Persian language, perhaps the first commentary on the holy

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- Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.34.
1. Ibid. Akhbār ul-Akhyār, p.175. Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.390. Tazkirah, p.88. It is said that Mullā 'Abdur Rehman Jāmī the renowned scholar of Persia, wrote his book of Sharh-i-Kāfiya, and sent it to the learned Qāzī, who, looking at it, remarked that it was a just and an abridged edition of his - Sharh i-Hindī.
  2. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.175.

Qurān in India.<sup>1</sup> He also wrote some other treatises and booklets both in Arabic and Persian on religious problems, as well as letters and memoirs in these languages.<sup>2</sup> All these books were written in clear yet ornate style and some of them have been included in the syllabus of madrasas for many centuries.

The author of Tazkirah-i-'Ulāmā-i-Hind, mentions that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had a profound respect and love for Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn. When once the great scholar fell seriously ill, the Sultān went to visit him; he even prayed that the illness of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn be transferred to him.<sup>3</sup> When the Qāzī died the Sultān felt a great sorrow, which, according to Firishta, hastened his death in the same year.<sup>4</sup> Qāzī's tomb, where his

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.175. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.390-91. Tazkirah, p.88. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.34.

2. Akhbār ul-akhyār, op.cit. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, op.cit. Tazkirah, op.cit. Tajallī-i-Nūr, op.cit.

3. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.36.

4. Firishta, is mistaken in mentioning this. Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī died in 844/1440, a fact which has been proved by the study of his coins. About Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn's date of death, there is a controversy among many authors. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.390-91 and Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.176 mention 848/1444. Tazkirah, 849/1445 and Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.36-37, says 842/1438.

wife is also buried, stands near the gate of Atāla Masjid in the courtyard of the present Mission High School.<sup>1</sup>

Mullā 'Abdul Malik' Adik.

He was the son of Nawāb 'Imād ul-Mulk, the minister of the Sharqīs.<sup>2</sup> Mulla 'Abdul Malik was very witty and intelligent in his childhood and when he grew up his father procured for him the tutorship of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī. Soon he won the favours of his tutor and was able to complete his education at a very young age. It is said that at the age of eighteen he had gained complete mastery over the exoteric subjects, and especially in the subjects of Usūl and Mantiq.<sup>3</sup> Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn greatly appreciated a commentary which his apt pupil wrote on his (the Qāzī's) Sharh-i-Hindī, and said this marked the completion of the Mulla's education under him. Afterwards the Qāzī also appointed him principal of his madrasa where he earned a great reputation

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1. Tajallī-i-Ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.37.

2. Ibid.

3. Tajallī-i-Ī-Nūr, Vol.II, pp.37-38.

as a teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Once Mullā 'Abdul-Malik 'Ādil discussed the problems of Tauhid (unitarianism) with contemporary saints, in which his arguments pleased Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn, but annoyed the others, who complained to Makhdūm Rukn ud-dīn Jaunpūrī.<sup>2</sup> At this Makhdūm Rukn ud-dīn, invited him to see him. At this meeting Mullā 'Abdul Malik 'Ādil was so much moved by Makhdūm's hospitality and virtues that he at once accepted his discipleship.<sup>3</sup> He died in 897/1491 and was buried in Pacca Bāgh in Mohalla Kat Garh of Jaunpūr,<sup>4</sup> where his grave is still to be seen. This place is now known as Bāgh i-Shikastah.<sup>5</sup>

Mullā 'Alā ud-dīn 'Atā ul-Mulk.

He was a younger brother of Mullā 'Abdul Malik 'Ādil, son of Nawāb 'Imād ul-Mulk, the minister of the

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.38.

2. Ibid, p.38.

3. Ibid, p.38.

4. Ibid, p.38.

5. Ibid, p.38.



Shatqīs.<sup>1</sup> He was also placed in the care of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn, and became one of his renowned pupils.<sup>2</sup> It is said that his mind became confused by reading the Kāfiya as he could not understand its logic. Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn therefore wrote for his convenience the commentary of Kāfiya, known as Sharh i-Hindī.<sup>(3)</sup> This helped Mullā 'Alā ud-dīn to solve his difficulties. He afterwards became a great scholar and was also appointed as teacher in the madrasa of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn.<sup>4</sup> Apart from being a writer, he was also a research scholar and in the latter respect his research work on Sharh i-Hindī is considered to be a valuable contribution.<sup>5</sup> The date of his death is not known. His grave is in Bāgh i-Kharāb of Mohalla Katgarh of Jaunpūr.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.38.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.39.

4. Ibid, p.39.

5. Ibid. The name of his book (research work on Sharh i-Hindī) is not known.

6. Ibid, p.39.

Maulānā Safī Jaunpūrī.

Another capable student of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī, he was also a tutor of the sons of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>1</sup> He wrote a commentary on the Kāfiya (a book on syntax) for the Sharqī princes.<sup>2</sup> In addition to that he wrote marginal notes (which are still extant) on Hidāya, and Baizāwī.<sup>3</sup> He often accompanied Sultān Husain Sharqī, in his campaigns against Sultān Bahlūl Lodī. Once he was captured. Bahlūl Lodī treated him with great respect and he remained attached to him for some time.<sup>4</sup> When Sultān Sikandar Lodī intended to destroy the Sharqī mosques by gunpowder, the Maulānā courageously protested.<sup>5</sup> Sikandar Lodī afterwards requested him to stay at Āgrā, to which he agreed. He died at Āgrā and was buried there.<sup>6</sup>

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol. VIII, No.2, December, 1963, p.87.

2. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol. VIII, No.2, December, 1963, p.88.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

Maulānā Ilāh Dād Mahshī Jaunpūrī.

He was a contemporary of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī. He was a student of Mullā 'Abdul Malik 'Ādil Jaunpūrī and had also studied certain subjects under Maulānā 'Abdullah Talumbī, the author of Badī'ul-Mizān.<sup>1</sup> He was an authority on the subject of Fiqh, Usūl, Hadīs and Kalām. He used to deliver lectures on these subjects in his madrasa which was situated near his monastery in Mohalla Rizviān of Jaunpūr, though it (madrasa) has now disappeared, owing to the ravages of time.<sup>2</sup> His place was always thronged with students and listeners, and his learned lectures spread his fame throughout India.<sup>3</sup> He was author of many books and treatises such as Sharh-i-Kāfiya, (commentary on Kāfiya), Sharh-i-Hidāya (a famous book on Islamic jurisprudence written by Burhān ud-dīn Abū'l Hasan bin 'Alī al-Marghizānī, d. 593/1196), Hawāshī bar Hawāshī-i-Hind, and marginal notes on the Tafsīr of Madārik and that of Baizāwī.<sup>4</sup> Sultān Husain Sharqī

1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.39.

2. Tazkirah, p.25. Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.412. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.39.

3. Ibid. Tazkirah, p.25. Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.412.

4. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.191. Tazkirah, p.25. Tajallī-i-Nūr, op.cit.

gave him one hundred tankas as a reward for the writings of the two books, i.e. Sharh-i-Hidāya, and that of Baizāwī, and he spent the entire amount on his students and on the needy.<sup>1</sup>

Maulānā Ilah Dād attained a long life and died in 923/1517.<sup>2</sup> His place of burial is controversial; according to one version his grave is in Sarā-ī-Ilahdīn in Bihār; according to another it lies near the north western wall of Masjid 'Īd Gāh of Jaunpūr.

Maulānā Ilah Dād was also a saint,<sup>3</sup> and had many disciples, among whom Shaiḫ Mā'rūf Jaunpūrī and Mullā Ahmad Zain Jaunpūrī were pre-eminent, the latter being considered a great scholar and saint of his time.<sup>4</sup> Maulānā Ilah Dād's two sons, Shaiḫ Bukhārī Jaunpūrī and Mullā 'Abdullah Jaunpūrī, were reputed scholars of their

1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol. VIII, No.2, December, 1963, p.88.

2. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.412. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, op.cit, p.40.

3. He was a disciple of Khawāja Muhammad 'Isā (a student of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn) and a follower of Rājī Hāmid Shāh. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.191. Tazkirah, p.25. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.412.

4. Tazkirah, p.18.

time.<sup>1</sup> The author of Tazkirah-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind, mentions that Shaiḡh Bukhārī's scholarship had very much impressed Sultān Bikandar Lodī. Once in an assembly of scholars the Sultān put Shaiḡh Bukhārī and his father, Maulānā Ilah Dād, to the test against Shaiḡh 'Abdullah Talumbī and Shaiḡh 'Azīz Ullah Talumbī. An interesting discussion took place about the subject of Ma'āraz (opposition) between both parties. The Sultān concluded that both father and son were better in writings whereas the others were better in discussion.<sup>2</sup> Mullā Ilah Dād's second son, Maulānā 'Abdullah, who studied under his own father, also rose to a prominent position. He was a famous teacher and his many students earned a great name as research scholars during their time.<sup>3</sup> His father was very proud of him and often admired his deep scholarship.<sup>4</sup> He was the author of the famous commentary of Mizān ul-Mantiq.<sup>5</sup> The date of his death is unknown, but his grave lies near the tomb of his father, i.e. near the

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1. Tazkirah, p.33.

2. Ibid, p.33.

3. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.40.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

northern wall of 'Īd Gāh of Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Qāzī Nizām ud-dīn Kikalānī.

His original name was Shihāb ud-dīn Ahmad bin Muhammad.<sup>2</sup> His grandparents had migrated from Kikalān in Arabia to Gujarāt and settled down there.<sup>3</sup> Qāzī Kikalānī was also brought up and educated there.<sup>4</sup> He had a high position as a scholar and teacher of Hadīs, Usūl, Tafsīr and Fiqh among his contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> His eloquence as a teacher attracted large audiences and brought him wide fame.<sup>6</sup>

When Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, a great patron of saints and scholars, learned about Qāzī Kikalānī, he invited him to Jaunpūr, honoured him with rich presents and appointed him to the post of Qāzī.<sup>7</sup> Qāzī Kikalānī was

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.40.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp.40-41.

4. Ibid, p.41.

5. Ibid, p.41.

6. Ibid, p.41.

7. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.41.

equally devoted to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and often visited him.<sup>1</sup> The latter also won a great reputation as a Qāzī and always did justice to his profession.<sup>2</sup> He had the full confidence of Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn, who never accepted any paper without his signature.<sup>3</sup> Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn greatly admired his scholarship. For (Qāzī Kikalanī) years he/delivered lectures on different subjects.<sup>4</sup> He wrote many books among which the following two were unique and of great importance. The first one was "Ibrāhīm Shāhiya", a collection of Hanfiya Fatwās (decrees), which had been prepared by the order of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>5</sup> The other, too, was a huge collection of the Fatwās (of the judgments) of the other Qāzīs.<sup>6</sup> He died in 874/1469 and his tomb is in Mohalla Chāchakpūr of Jaunpūr.<sup>7</sup> The place of his residence, still in

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.41.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

existence, became known as Mohalla Qāzīān.<sup>1</sup>

Qāzī Salāh ud-dīn Khalīl.

He was a grandson of Qāzī Nizām ud-dīn Kikalānī, who took a great interest in his education and encouraged him to achieve an eminent position both as scholar and writer.<sup>2</sup> Qāzī Salāh ud-dīn is said to have been the most cultured person of his time and was famous among his contemporaries for his attractive eloquence.<sup>3</sup> He was a great scholar of Islamic lore, and in particular of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>4</sup> His contemporaries acknowledged and honoured his scholarship and often visited him to seek his advice.<sup>5</sup> Like his grandfather he enjoyed great respect and honour among the people.

On his grandfather's death he succeeded him as Qāzī of Jaunpūr - a post that he successfully filled for

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.42.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.42.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



twenty years.<sup>1</sup> His two books, Sharh ul-Ishbāh wal Nazā'ir fil-Farūgh, amongst many others were scholarly and famous.<sup>2</sup> He died at the age of fifty, but his date of death is not known.<sup>3</sup> He was buried in Mohalla Katgarh of Jaunpūr where his tomb, known by the name of the tomb of Qāzī Salah, still stands to the south of Masjid 'Īd Gāh.<sup>4</sup>

He left many students among whom the most renowned was Sayyid 'Abdul-Awwal, a descendant of 'Alā ud-dīn Lājūrī.<sup>5</sup> He left Jaunpūr on a pilgrimage to Makka and on his return settled in Ahmadābād. Afterwards he was invited to Dehli by Bahram Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, and died there in 968/156061.<sup>6</sup> He was a poet too.<sup>7</sup> His commentary on Sahīh Bukhārī, (a collection of Ahādīs) by the name of Faiz ul-Bārī was a great achievement. His

1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.42.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, pp.42-43.

6. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.II, p.43.

7. Ibid.

other three books, Farāiz-i-Sirājī (a treatise on poetry), as well as Safar ul-Sa'ā-dāt (a travel book) won him great renown. He also wrote commentaries on and marginal notes to many other books.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh 'Abdul-Samad.

He was a grandson of the famous Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir of Dehli.<sup>2</sup> After the overthrow of the Sharqī dynasty he went to Dehli. The first thing he did at Dehli was to erect a splendid structure over the tomb of his grandfather. The latter had also been invited to Jaunpūr by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, where he lived for one year. Afterwards, leaving his son, Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid with the king, he returned to Dehli.<sup>3</sup> At Dehli Shaikh 'Abdul Samad was much honoured by Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who also became his followers. Shaikh 'Abdul Samad was a great scholar of Arabic and a poet of Arabic and Persian,

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1. Farāiz-i-Nūr, Vol.II, p.43.

2. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, December, 1963, p.90.

3. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.24. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.332. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, 1963, pp.89-90.

evidence for which is to be found in his authorship of Qāsid ul Lamiyāh.

Maulānā Samā ud-dīn Kamboh.

He is the last person to be mentioned here as an embodiment of learning, temporal and spiritual, of the city of Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> He was a disciple of Shaiḡh Kabīr, grandson of Makhdūm Sayyid Jalāl ud-dīn Bukhārī. Maulānā Samā ud-dīn came from Multān, on the eve of Timūr's invasion. Passing through Ranthabhor, Beyāna and Dehli, he reached Jaunpūr, where Husain Sharqī honoured him with the post of Wazīr.<sup>2</sup> He was also honoured at the same time with the title of Kutlugh Khān, and he enjoyed a great respect for a number of years in the court of the Sharqīs. In 884/1479, he accompanied Husain Sharqī on the campaign against Bahlūl Lodī. When the Sharqī army was defeated, Kutlugh Khān was also arrested along with many other officers.<sup>3</sup> Bahlūl honoured him and took him to Dehli where he began to

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.221.

2. Badā'uni, Vol.I, p.310. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.42b.

3. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.309.

teach secular and spiritual subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Bahlūl Lodī became so devoted to Maulānā Samā ud-dīn, that he used to attend his sermons every morning.<sup>2</sup> He appointed him as tutor of the princes and it was to Maulānā Samā ud-dīn that prince Nizām Khān went for an omen when he was called by the nobles to Jalālī to assume sovereignty.<sup>3</sup>

He wrote a commentary on Miftāh ul-Asrār, a tract on mysticism which is still extant.<sup>4</sup> He died during the reign of Sikandar Lodī on 17 Jamādī I, 901/ 2nd February, 1496, and lies buried near the shrine of Khwāja Qutb<sup>ud-</sup>/dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Mahraūlī.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, December, 1963, p.97.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

### Section III.

#### Some Important Scholars in other parts of the Sharqī Sultanate.

##### Shaikh Ā'zam Sānī Lakhnavī.

He was the son of Shaikh Abū'l Baqā bin Shaikh Mūsā bin Shaikh Zīā ud-dīn Kirmānī.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather, Shaikh Zīā ud-dīn, had migrated from Kirmān to India during the eruption of Halākū Khān.<sup>2</sup> Reaching Lucknow he went to see Shaikh Samarqandī, and the two of them became close friends. From then on he lived in Lucknow. Shaikh Ā'zam Sānī also lived and died there.<sup>3</sup> He was a prince of great worldly wisdom and sagacity. He mastered both esoteric and exoteric subjects, under the tuition of the famous saint and scholar, Shaikh Abū'l-Fath Jaunpūrī.<sup>4</sup> He had profound knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence and could propound it lucidly. He also wrote a few treatises

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1. Tazkirah, p.23.

2. Ibid, pp.23-24.

3. Ibid, p.24.

4. Ibid, p.23.

on this subject.<sup>1</sup> He was on terms of intimate friendship with the famous scholar and saint, Shaikh Sa'ad Ullah Kandūri.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Ā'zam left many renowned students who continued his traditions. Among these the more prominent were Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Khairābādī and Shaikh Zia Lakhnavī.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Khairābādī.

His father was a Qāzī of Khariābād.<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Sa'd Ullah completed his education under Shaikh Ā'zam Sānī Lakhnavī, as has been mentioned above. He was a spiritual disciple of Shaikh Mīnā Lakhnavī and lived with him till his (Shaikh Mīnā's)<sup>5</sup> death. He spent the rest of his life in his native town of Khairābād as a teacher and writer.<sup>6</sup> He was a profound writer and author of many books such as Sharh Misbāh, Sharh-i-Kāfiya, Sharh-i-Jāmī, and Sharh Risāla Makkiya.<sup>7</sup> The list is also

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1. Tazkirah, p.23.

2. Ibid, p.23.

3. Ibid, p.23.

4. Tazkirah, p.75.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p.76.

7. Ibid, pp.75-76.

known by the name of Majma'ul-Sulūk.<sup>1</sup> In this book the Shaikh has collected also some of the malfūzāts of his Shaikh Mīnā, Lakhnavī, including the latter's short biography. He enjoyed a great reputation as a successful writer and teacher and died in his native town in 882/1477.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Sa'd Ullah Kandūrī Farāz Lakhnavī.

He was a son of Shaikh Samā ud-dīn Lakhnavī. He was also a disciple of his own father and received the Khirqā of the Chishtiya silsila from him.<sup>4</sup> He also received the Khirqā of the Suhrwardiya silsila from Sayyid Ajmal Jaunpūrī.<sup>5</sup>

He was an accomplished scholar and teacher of both esoteric and exoteric subjects.<sup>6</sup> He was a saint of great piety and charity. He left eight sons who

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1. Tazkirah, pp.75-76.

2. Ibid, pp.75-76.

3. Ibid, p.76.

4. Tazkirah, p.72.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

carried on his mystic traditions.<sup>1</sup> He died in 829/  
1425-26.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tajikar p.23.

2. Ibid, p.73.



### Section IV.

#### Hindī Scholars and Poets of the Sharqī Period.

Three different streams contributed to the Hindī literature of the period. First, the Bhaktī leaders such as Kabīr, secondly poets and scholars of Hindī dialects such as Vidyāpatī and Shaikh Qutban, thirdly the Muslim mystics such as Shaikh Dāniyāl and Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī and their followers.

The Bhaktī movement is the cult of the personal god who is full of love and pity for his devotees, and also finally becomes the supreme object of devotion. This movement was not a new one; it was rooted in Hinduism, but had received great impetus from the advent of Islām in India. The lower classes of Hindu society were feeling the pull of Islām which offered them equality of social status. To counteract this pull, the Bhaktī leaders had to give Hinduism a mass appeal, in content as well as in the means of communication. Most of them used local and regional dialects to popularise their teachings.

At Benāras Rāmānada (1400-70) incalculated the worship of Rāma as the incarnation of Vishnū. His

disciples such as Kabīr (born at Benāras in 1425 A.D.), Bhannā (a Jāt, b.1415 A.D.), Pīpā (rāja of Gāgradngarh, b. 1425 A.D.), Sein (a barber) and Rāīdāsa (a chamār of Benāras), carried his mission further and, like him, wrote in Hindī.<sup>1</sup> Some of these writings are still preserved in Adigranth.<sup>2</sup> Vallabhāchārya (born at Benāres in 1479 A.D.), another great Bhaktī leader of Vrindāban, represented Krishna as Vishnu's avatar.<sup>3</sup> In Bengal Chaitanya, the founder of the Gaudiya sect, also led the movement of Bhaktī love for Krishna.<sup>4</sup> In nothern India, Kabīr and in Punjāb, Gurū Nānak, preached monotheism, denounced idolatry, and strove for the leveling of caste distinctions.<sup>5</sup> They also eased the

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1. Misrā Bandhu Vinodha, History of Hindī Literature, Vol.I, No.84, No.90 and No.188, p.174. Hari Audha, Hindī bāshā aur uske sāhitya ka vikāsa, Vol.I, 188, p.234. K.S. Lāl, Twilight of the Sultanate, pp. 299-300. Grierson, Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindī, p.7, No.11.
  2. Ibid, p.299.
  3. Ibid, pp.305-6.
  4. Ibid, pp.307-10.
  5. Ibid, pp.294-95 and 300-302.

tension between the Hindus and Muslims.

All these Bhaktī reformers many of whom flourished in the territory of the Sharqīs preached their cult in local dialects. The Sharqīs were, in fact, benevolent to their Hindu subjects and helped to restore the local Rājas, who also enjoyed religious freedom under them.<sup>1</sup> In this respect the name of Husain Sharqī stands pre-eminent. He was loved equally by his Hindu and Muslim subjects. The latter helped him in his struggle against his Lodī opponents.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest of the Bhaktī preachers who flourished in northern India and who have been connected with Hindi literature, were Namdeva and Sādhena Bhagat.<sup>3</sup> The former, a prominent preacher in that part of the

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1. Kirtī Lata, pp.14-18. The Monumental Antiquities, Vol.II, p.189. D.G. A'zam Garh, p.154. One temple of Husain Sharqī's reign still exists in the village of Kopa in tahsil Mahmūdābād about 25 miles east of A'zam Garh district town.
  2. Sultān Husain was mostly helped by local rājas such as rāja of Tirhut, against his opponents. For details, see chapter V, pp.
  3. K.S. Lāl, Twilight of the Sultanate, pp. 293-93.

country is considered to be the forerunner of Kabīr. Apart from these there were also many others, both Hindu and Muslim, who wrote in Hindī and local dialects and have been considered as the pioneers of this tradition. An account of some of them follows.

### Kabīr.

He was born at Benāras, and though his date of birth is not yet certain the majority of scholars have agreed upon his date of death as 1518 A.D., a few months later than the death of Sikandar Lodī.<sup>1</sup> He is said to be the author of seventy-five works, of which "Kabīr Parichaya kī Sākhī, Kabīr Panjī, Kabīr kī Vānī, Sabdāvaī, and Bijaṅk are the most famous.<sup>2</sup> But one of his biographers, Rāma Mukanda Varma, attributes to him fifty-six works, inclusive of works such as Muhammad Bodh, Bulḡh Kā Piyāz, and Kabīr Gorakh kī Goshtī. Some of them might have been written by his disciples, i.e. Panthī Sadus, to enhance the prestige of his master.<sup>3</sup> Apart from these

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1. K.S. Lal, Twilight of the Sultanate, pp.294 and 299. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, p.73.

2. Misrā, Bandhu Vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.78.

3. A. Halim, op.cit.

books he composed a good number of Slokas and Padua which have been included in the Grantha.<sup>1</sup> His oldest work still extant to-day bears the date, 1510 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Kabīr used the Pālī dialect of Hindī which is still spoken to-day in and around Benāras.<sup>3</sup> Yet Panjābī, Kharī, Braj, Rajasthānī, Arabic and Persian words are also found in his writings, as he travelled widely. As he had not acquired any book knowledge, and was a religious reformer who aimed to influence the common people, the language he wrote was largely free from conventional rules of grammar.<sup>4</sup> He used simple language which would appeal to the heart of his audience, but under the plain garb of his expression sublime and rich thoughts are often found. The pure form of his speech has been preserved in Grautha.

1. Misrā Bandhu Vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.78.

2. Ibid.

3. One of his utterances is the following: bolī merī purb kī  
See Harī Audh, Hindī bhāshā etc., p.159 as well as 'Abdul  
Haqq, Urdu kī nashv o Nama men Sufiyān i-kirām kā kām,  
p.94:-

Merī bōlī purbī tāhī nā chinhay koī,

Merī bōlī so likhay jo purb kā hoī, nobody

Translation:- "My language is purbī which/recognises"

"My language will be written by one who  
will belong to the east (of the midland)."

4. Syāma-Sundra Dāsa, Hindī bhāsha aur sāhitya, p.42.

His verses which had been transmitted orally for quite a long time were first collected by one of his disciples, Dharmadāśa.<sup>1</sup> The simplicity and earthiness one finds in his style shows that Kabīr addressed the masses and not the intelligentsia.<sup>2</sup> His writings reveal him at times as a Pīr and Sūfī and sometimes as Vaishnava and student of Vedānta. He had many disciples who wrote in the Braja dialect instead of Pūrbī. Prominent among them was Dharmadāśa who wrote "Dwādash Panth" (Twelve Paths) Nirbhaya Jñāna, and Kabīr Vānī. The last was written in Samvat 1521/1464 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Some of Dharmadāśa's sonnets are extremely melodious and read like Arabic meters.<sup>4</sup>

Kabīr's sons, Kamāl, the founder of one of the sects (Panth) of Kabīr, was also a poet, but did not write much. His only pada is quoted by Misrā Bandhu.<sup>5</sup>

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, p.74.

2. Sukla R.C., Hindī sāhitya kā itihāsa, p.57.

3. Sukla R.C., Hindī sāhitya kā itihāsa, p.63.

4. Ibid.

5. Misra Bandhu vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.105.

A few specimens of his compositions from the language point of view are quoted below.<sup>1</sup>

Vidyāpatī Thākur.

Another great Hindī writer of the period and also a pioneer of drama was Vidyāpatī Thākur. He was a Saiva Brahman and was born in 1363 at Bisapi in Mithilā.<sup>2</sup>

Later he became a court poet of Rāja Siva Singh of Tirhut.<sup>3</sup> This small state existed from the beginning

1. Gangā ke sang Saritā bigrī  
So Saritā Ganga hoī nibrī,  
Bigreu Kabīrā Rāma duhāī  
Sādhu bhaye ankat hin na jāī.

Translation:- The Saritā became mixed in the Ganges,  
And thus Saritā ended being merged in  
the Ganges,  
By Rām I say, Kabīr became corrupted.  
He has become a Sādhu, and will never  
stray from the right path.

See, Harī Audh, Hindi bhāsha, etc. p.160.

Panjābi-Rajasthānī:-

Kabīr sangat sādhu kī kadā na nirphal hoī  
Chandan hosī bābna Nīm na kahsō hoī.

Translation:- Kabīr, the associations of holy men  
never go fruitless  
Oh Brahman, nobody will call sandal  
Nīm (margo)

See Harī Audha, op.cit., p.165, and A. Halim, J.A.S.P.,  
Vol.II, p.74.

2. Keay, p.28. This place is now in the Darbanga district of Bihar.
3. Grierson, Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindi, p.9.  
Misrā Bandhu vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.167.

of the fifteenth century to its end, and its Rājas were feudatories of the Sharqīs. After the fall of the latter, it was annexed by Sakandar Lodī in 900/1494.<sup>1</sup>

Vidyāpatī Thākur was a Sanskrit scholar who also wrote in the Prakrit Apabhramsha and Maithilī dialects.<sup>2</sup> His two books Kīrtī Patākā, and Kīrtī Latā, are of great importance in this respect. In the latter he has dealt with a very important aspect of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who fought for Vidyāpatī's patron, against rebellious Arsalān who had in fact killed the previous ruler and dispossessed his patron. In fact Vidyāpatī had himself gone to the court of the Sharqī Sultān to beg for help, for his patron. In Kīrtī Latā he gives a detailed description of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī's procession which paraded through the Mithilā capital with great pomp and show.<sup>3</sup>

Though the Bengalis claim him as a Bengali poet,

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1. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, p.316.

2. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, p.78. Vidyāpatī's Sanskrit include Purusha-Parīkshā, Durgābhaktī Taranginī, Dārvākya-avali and Vivādasāra. See Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindi, p.10.

3. Kīrtī Latā, pp.14-18.



Hindu scholars regard him as a poet of Hindī, because Maithilā is the dialect of the Pūrbī (eastern) branch of Hindī.<sup>1</sup> He is remembered as the cuckoo of Mithilā, because of his sweet and melodious expression. His description of the separation of Rādhā from Krishna is considered his greatest work. Vidyāpatī is thus considered to be the founder of Rādhā-bhāṣ in Hindī literature.<sup>2</sup> He is allegorical in expression, and the love he sings of is divine love and not of flesh and blood. His songs were greatly admired by Chaitanya, who used to hear them being sung by one of his disciples, Dhamodara Swāyūpa.<sup>3</sup> Vidyāpatī Thākur is of course the greatest poet of Maithil and is also considered a great poet in Hindī. He is the forerunner of many Maithil poets, such as Nandapatī and Umāpatī - the one who was the brilliant writer of "Chhanda" (musical verse).<sup>4</sup> As author of Parijata-harana and Rukmīnī-parinaya, he is the first

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1. Syāma Sandera Dās "Hindī bhāshū aur sāhitya", p.323. The Maithil dialect is more allied to Hindī than to Bengali.

2. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, p.79.

3. Ibid, p.80.

4. Misrā Bandhu Vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.177.

dramatist in Hindī.<sup>1</sup> His work enshrines memories of his patrons, the Mithilā rulers and the benevolent Sharqīs.

Makhdūm Dāniyāl Khizrī Jaunpūrī.

He was a most renowned scholar and saint of the Sharqī period.<sup>2</sup> Some of his students earned fame as renowned scholars. Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, the founder of the Mahdaviya sect, and his brother, Sayyid Ahmad Khizrī, were Makhdūm's students and disciples. Sayyid Ahmad succeeded to Makhdūm's spiritual post and continued his traditions.<sup>3</sup> Makhdūm Dāniyāl was also a poet of Hindī.

The following two verses are illustrative of his charming style

جگ جگ محمد صفت جمع خواجی + صفت بنتی رسول نوابی  
دانیال جیو پیر گشت کینا + صفت خواجہ خضریتہ دنیا

4

Jug Jug 'Umar Hazrat Jī Nawājī.

Hazrat Binti Rasūl Nawāgī.

Dāniyāl Jīo Par Ghat Kainā

Hazrat Khwāja Khizr Hath Dainā

1. Grierson, p.30.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.56. For details see Chapter VIII, pp.90-92.

3. Ibid, pp.57-58.

4. Ibid, p.56.

Shaikh Qutb Alī Qutban.

He was originally a disciple of Shaikh Burhān of Kālpī, and afterwards joined the Shattāriya Order, as has been mentioned by Muhammad Ghausī, the author of Gulzār-ī-Abrār,<sup>1</sup> He was a court poet of Sultān Husain Sharqī, to whom he dedicated his famous Masnavi, "Mirgavatī", written in the Awadhī dialect. He mentions his patron's name as Sāhū Husen (Husain Shāh).<sup>2</sup> The following quotation bears this out:

Sāhū Husen hay barā rājā,

Pandit au budhivant Sayāna

Dharam Budhishtir unkō Chhājā

Dan deh au ganat nā ūbay

Chhatr sinhāsan unkō Chhājā,

Parhe Purān arth sab jānā

Ham sīr Chhānh Kio jag rājā

Bali au karaṇ na sarvarī pāby.

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, p.85.

2. Misrā Bandhu Vinoda, op.cit., Vol.I, p.199.

Translation:- Husain Shāh is a great king.

The canopy and the throne benefits him;

He is a Pandit and greatly wise

He knows the Purāna and knows its meanings

He compares with Yūdishthir in Justice,

You have spread shade over my head, oh king,

He gives gifts and does not know counting

Balī and Karna never surpass <sup>ed</sup>him (in bravery).

Shaikh Qutban wrote this masnavi in 1501 A.D. when his patron, Sultān Husain Sharqī, was passing his days at Colgong as a refugee under the protection of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Husain Shāh (1493-1518) of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that he compares his patron to the heroes of Hindī mythology and not to Nushīrwān, Rustum or Hātum. Like his other contemporaries, Mīr Sayyid Manjhān and Malik Muhammad Jā'isī, he tells his love stories against a Hindū socio-religious background and his heroes and heroines are Hindī princes and princesses. This makes his writings much more interesting. In the

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1. Ibid and No.124, and Harī Audh, op.cit., p.213.

2. A. Halim, History of Lodī Sultans of Dehli and Agrā, p.71.

same way he illustrates the tragic end of Mirgavatī by the union of the seeker with the Divine Soul, similar to the Hindu ideal of married love.

Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī.

He also enjoyed the patronage of Sultān Husain Sharqī.<sup>1</sup> He often used Hindī in his Mahdviā preachings. Several of his verses have been quoted by Dr. 'Abd ul-Haqq in his book, "Urdu kī nasho wa numā men Sufiyān-i-kirām kā Khām".<sup>2</sup> His twelve Khalīfas carried on his traditions and also preached and wrote in Hindī and other dialects. Thus this movement also indirectly contributed much to popularise the Hindī language among the masses.

Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs Gongōhī (1453-1518).

He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti of Mānikpūr and at one time enjoyed the patronage of the Sharqīs.<sup>3</sup> After the fall of the latter, he migrated to

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58. For details see Chapter VIII, pp.
  2. 'Abdul Haqq, pp.20-21.
  3. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.48b. Sayyid Nur ul-Hasan, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.I, July, 1950, p.49. For details see Chapter VIII, pp.

Shāhābād and then to Gangoh, where he enjoyed Lodī patronage.<sup>1</sup> Bābur and Humayūn had also great respect for him. Humayūn indeed became his disciple.<sup>2</sup> Apart from being a scholar and writer of Persian, he was also a great supporter of Hindī. As a Hindī poet he composed under the name of Alakdāsā (invisible servant).<sup>3</sup> In his Rashad Nāma, a Persian work on Sufiism, one finds Hindu dohas as well.<sup>4</sup>

Thus the Bhagats, mystic writers and poets, who enjoyed the patronage of the Sharqī rulers, established sound foundations for the further development of Hindī literature. Their services helped in freeing this language from the Apabrhamsha stage, secured for it a stable vernacular form, and finally helped it to gain an effective literary form. Owing to the rise of new forms, the earlier heroic ballads fell into disuse. Apart from Hindī poetry, padas and dohas, the foundations

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1. Sayyid Nur ul-Hasan, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.I, July, 1950, p.49.

2. Ibid.

3. 'Abdul-Haqq, op.cit., pp.23-24.

4. Sayyid Nūr ul-Hasan, op.cit.

of Hindī drama were also laid down in this period. Above all, the Bhaktī poetry of the Krishnite school provided the theme and the form of classical song literature. The importance of the Sharqī period in the history of Hindī literature lies in its being a parting of the ways.

## Section V.

### (B) Fine Arts Under the Sharqīs.

#### Music Under the Sharqīs.

With the break up of the Dehli Empire Samā' music as well as vocal and instrumental music found new patronage at the courts of the provincial dynasties. Among these the Sharqīs deserve pride of place as patrons of music. Husain Sharqī, in particular, earned undying fame as the inventor of various Rāgas.<sup>1</sup> He was so much given to music and dancing that he would not stop musical parties even at the approach of the enemy forces.<sup>2</sup> Husain Sharqī has left a permanent place for himself in Indian classical music.

In tracing the history of this art during the Sharqī period, one discovers these areas of achievement. First, the music of Samā' and Kawwālī, which was regarded

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1. Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mirāt ī-Āftāb Numā, f.270a.

2. Sayyid Misbāh ud-dīn Abd ur Rehman, Hindustān key Musalman Hukamrānon key ahad key Tamaddanī Jalway/Garh, p.531.  
/A'zam



as an aid to spiritual ecstasy and which received encouragement from the Sahrwardiya and Chishtiya mystics. Secondly Bhakti songs and Bhakti hymns composed by Bhakti saints and poets and sung by their followers, especially in religious assemblies. Thirdly the classical tradition, enriched and enlarged by the inventive genius of the Sharqi rulers and aristocracy.

It cannot be denied that music in the early stages after the advent of the Muslims, was nursed in Khānqāhs of the Sahrwardiya and Chishtiya sufis. The saints of both Orders, with some exceptions, of course, considered Samā' (mystic music played to the accompaniment of daf only in their devotional gatherings) as a means of accelerating spiritual ecstasy). Thus a useful service was rendered to this in the Khānqāhs of Multān, Ajodhan (Pak Patan), Dehli, Gaur, and elsewhere. The mystic auspices helped to make music, especially the Samā' variety, popular and at the same time respectable. The name of Shaiḫ Bahā ud-dīn Zakariyā of Multān can be mentioned in this respect. He is credited with the invention of some airs of composite character commonly known

as Multānī Rāgas.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Suhrawardiya mystics who migrated to Zafarābād were Makhdūm Asad ud-dīn Āftāb-i-Hind, and Sadr ud-dīn Chirāgh-i-Hind, both disciples of Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Multānī, grandson of Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Zakariya Multānī.<sup>2</sup> Thus these early mystics brought with them Samā' traditions which they established at Jaunpūr on firm foundations. Some of them such as Makhdūm Āftāb-i-Hind had developed such a devotion to the art that they expired while listening to it.<sup>3</sup> The common man also fell under its spell.

With the migration of Chishtiya mystics to this part of the country, the traditions of Samā' music were further enriched, and we soon find flourishing centres at Kachh~~huchha~~ Mānikpūr and Jaunpūr itself.<sup>4</sup> Hazrat Nizām ud-dīn Auliya of Dehli, one of the greatest Chishtiya

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1. Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, p. : such as Puriyā-Dhauasrī and Rag Multānī,/Rag Darpan, ff.12-13.

See also,  
2. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.8 and 11-12.

3. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.10-11.

4. See for details Chapter VIII, pp.

saints, was very fond of Samā' as well as Hindī Rāgas, particularly Multānī.<sup>1</sup> This gave a great impetus to music. One of his chief disciples, Amīr Khusrāw, an inventive genius of many Rāgas, further enriched these traditions.<sup>2</sup> Amīr Khusrāw's two disciples, Sāmat and Nīāz, later took the lead and founded the Qawwālī school of Indian music, which to this day is very popular not only among the members of this Order, but also among the common people.<sup>3</sup> Notable among music-loving Chishtiya saints, who flourished in the Sharqī Kingdom, were Shaikh Sammānī, Husām ud-dīn Mānikpūrī, Shaikh Barī Haqqānī, Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Chishtī and Shaikh Adhan Chishtī.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, May, 1957, p.

2. Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, ff.267. Kaumudi, I.H.Q. Vol.XXVI, June, 1950, pp.130-32. He is said to have invented Tarāna and evolved Bahār. The evolution of Qawwālī is also traditionally attributed to him. The Sitār modification of Vīnā was also introduced by him.

3. {

4. Akhbār ul-akhyār, pp.171-72, 192 and 226. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp. 24,27,29,46. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.418-19 and 431-32. Bahr Zakh/Khār, ff.229. Safīnat ul-auliya, p.192. For details see Chapter VIII, pp.

They took the lead in popularising this art especially among the common people. Shaikh 'Alā ud-dīn Lajūrī, who was also a poet was a gifted musician.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh (d. 1497 A.D.) Pir Bodhan of Barnawān was another mystic and musician of Jaunpūr who used to have contests with his patron, Husain Sharqī.<sup>2</sup>

Like the Sufīs of the Suhrawardiya and Chishtiya Orders, the Bhagtas and the preachers of Bhaktī who flourished in the Sharqī Kingdom also provided an incentive to the development of Indian Music. The debt that Indian music owes to the Bhaktī movement cannot be exaggerated. A study of the Grauth Sāhib reveals that all great Bhaktī saints - Nāmdēva, Rāidās, Gurū Nānak or Kabīr under the Sharqīs composed poems to be sung to arouse spiritual feelings. In those days music and poetry were very closely linked indeed. Most of the musicians were poets and composers at the same time, and thus music was considered to be an accomplishment which no poet could afford to do without.<sup>3</sup> Poets like Amīr Khusraw

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.49.

2. Shaikh M. Ikrām, The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, p.49.

3. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.54.

Vidyāpatī and Kabīr were exponents of Indian music.<sup>1</sup> Verses composed by such poets were intended not merely for recitation, but also for being sung in a proper manner to the tune of certain Rāgas. Vidyāpatī, the court poet of the Mithilā rulers - the feudataries<sup>0</sup> of the Sharqīs - achieved a prominent position as a composer of Hindī songs.<sup>2</sup> Chaitanya was fond of singing Vidyāpatī's songs and made Sankirtan (chorus singing) the vehicle of popular devotion for the members of this Order.<sup>3</sup> Kabīr wrote devotional poetry called Bhagtī Deva or Bhagtī Rās, which has been considered the surest and the quickest vehicle for evoking the devotional attitude.<sup>4</sup>

Sultān Husain Sharqī himself made a prominent contribution to it. He was in fact the greatest inventive genius after Amīr Khusrāw of Dehli and for that reason has been entitled as Ghandarva.<sup>5</sup> His reputation spread all

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.54.

2. Ibid.

3. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.II, 1957, pp.79-80.

4. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.54.

5. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, May, 1957, pp.59-60.

over India. He invented twelve Syāmas, such as Malhār Syāma, Guur Syāma, Bhopal Syāma, Megh Syāma, Basant Syāma, Kehnūr Syāma, Soho Syāma, Rām Syāma, Berārī Syāma, Syāma Godānī, Ghond Syāma and Purbī Syāma.<sup>1</sup> Another invention of his includes four Todīs: Asawarī Todī - long known as Husaini or Jaunpūrī Asawari, Rasūī Todī, Behmaley Todī and Jaunpūrī Basant.<sup>2</sup> He also mixed certain Rāgas in his Todīs such as Rām Kalī and Mālsarī in Rāmā Todī, and Multānī and Dhnāsarī in Rasūī Todī.<sup>3</sup> He also adapted the Arabic air, called Zangūlah, known under its corrupt name Jangla. This was another popular air of Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> Above all Sultān Husain has left an undying name, through his invention of the Khīyāl mode of

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1. Rāg Drapan, ff.11-12. Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, p.270. Sayyid Misbāh ud-dīn 'Abd ur Rehman, op.cit., pp.531-32.
  2. Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, op.cit. Rāg Drapan, op.cit. Sayyid Misbāh ud-dīn 'Abdur Rehman, op.cit.
  3. Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numā, op.cit. Sayyid Misbāh ud-dīn 'Abdur Rehman, op.cit. Rāg. Drapan, op.cit.
  4. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, pp.59-60.

singing.<sup>1</sup>

Husain Sharqī's patronage of this art also greatly inspired his contemporaries. Thus Rāja Mānsingh (1468-1517) of Gawāliar further enriched the former's traditions. Rāja Mānsingh was of Gawāliar was a highly accomplished musician with a rich voice, and had a particular style of singing modelled on the one introduced by Husain.<sup>2</sup> He rendered a great service to the art, by collecting all these Rāgas of new melodies and new techniques introduced by Muslims and including them in his famous book, Mān Kautuhal (curiosity of Rāja Mān Singh).<sup>3</sup> The work is a landmark in the evolution of North Indian Music.<sup>4</sup> Even the Rāja 'Īd Singh Gor and Rāja Rām Shāh of Kharpur were well versed in the style of Amīr Khusrāw and Sultān Husain Sharqī.<sup>5</sup> The latter's contemporary, Sultān Sikandar Lodī, though a strict adherent of the

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1. Sayyid Misbāh ud-dīn Abdur Rehman, op.cit., p.528.  
A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.60.

2. A. Halim, Ibid, pp.60-61.

3. A. Halim, Ibid, p.61.

4. Ibid. A. Halim, I.C. Vol.XIX, No.I, January, 1945, p.355.

5. A. Halim, I.C. Vol.XIX, No.I, January, 1945, p.359.

Shari'at, was also fond of music and would not go to sleep unless he had listened to music. He had four expert young musicians, one to play on the Chong, the second on the Qanūn, the third on the Vīnā, and the fourth on the <sup>ru</sup>Tumbur (Paudore), and he used to listen to them before going to sleep.<sup>1</sup> In the same way he had four surnāī (Shehnāī) players.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar Lodī had a great liking especially for four Rāgas (airs): Kidāra Malī-Gauda, Kalyān and Husainī Kanara, also another invention of Husain.<sup>3</sup>

Husain Sharqī's Khiyāl mode of singing is still very popular though with some variations. This Khiyāl type of music replaced its forerunner, Dhrupad. Dhrupad is sung to the accompaniment of the Mirdang (Pakhawaj), an old Indo-Pakistan drumming instrument.<sup>4</sup> It is static and conventional and aims at rousing an attitude of devotion, whereas Khiyāl aims at creating a sense of joy,

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.57.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.



by the multiplication of melodies in an easy rhythm.

It was further developed during the reign of Shāh Jahān.<sup>1</sup>

But Khiyāl as it is known to-day, took its shape during the time of the later Mughuls.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.I, No.I, 1956, p.60.

2. Ibid., pp.60-61.

## Section VI.

### Painting Under the Sharqīs.

Apart from other fine arts, the Sharqī reign is equally important for the art of Painting. In fact the last Sharqī ruler himself was considered to be a competent painter. One Jain Kalpasūtra testified to this fact as well as to the patronage of this talented Sultān of the art of painting. This unique manuscript, Jain Kalpasūtra, which once formed a part of the collection of such other Kalpasūtras of the late Hamsavijayājī, is now in the Narasimhajīnī polnā Jnāna Bhandār Baroda.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript itself denotes that its text was written in Vikramā Samvat 1522 (1465 A.D.) at Yavanpur (Jaunpūr) in the reign of Huseyn Shāh (Husain Shāh Sharqī) by the order of Harshini Srāvikā.<sup>2</sup>

It consists of eighty-six pages, eight miniatures

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1. Motī Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Ahmadāfād, 1948, p.38.
  2. Ibid. Also see Figs. 1 and 2 on plate X, p.406 in this respect.

Plate X: The Colophon of the manuscript of the Kalposūtra which denotes that the manuscript was written in Vikrama Samvat 1522 (1465 A.D.) at Yavanpūr (Jaunpūr) in the reign of Husain Shāh by the order of Harshinī Srāvikā.

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Fig. 11 and 2

and seventy-four decorative border motifs.<sup>1</sup> Some of these motives also belong to the Sharqī architecture. Their floral designs have been beautifully executed and are partly of Hindu and partly of Muslim design.<sup>2</sup> The floral designs are in red, yellow, green, white, dark green and blue. Also the figures of different animals such as ducks, fish, deer, horses, elephants and peacocks have been drawn in these motifs.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore geometrical designs of various multiple colours decorate them, combining in such a way that they appeal powerfully to the aesthetic sense.<sup>4</sup>

The miniatures introduced both secular and religious scenes of life. These include scenes from the lives of the Jinās and saints, such as the consecration ceremony of Rshabhadeva,<sup>5</sup> the fourteen dreams of Devananda,<sup>6</sup>

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1. Motī Chandra, op.cit.

2. H. Goetz, "Marg", Vol.IV, No.2, p.37. Also see Figs. 3 & 4 on plate XI, p.408 in this respect.

3. Motī Chandra, op.cit., p.38. Also see Figs.5 & 6, plate XI, p.409 in this respect.

4. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Figs.3 to 8 on plates XI, XII and XIII on pp 408-410 in this respect.

5. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig.9 on plate XIV p.411 in this respect.

6. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig.10 on plate XV p.413 in this respect.





Fig. 33.



Fig. 44.



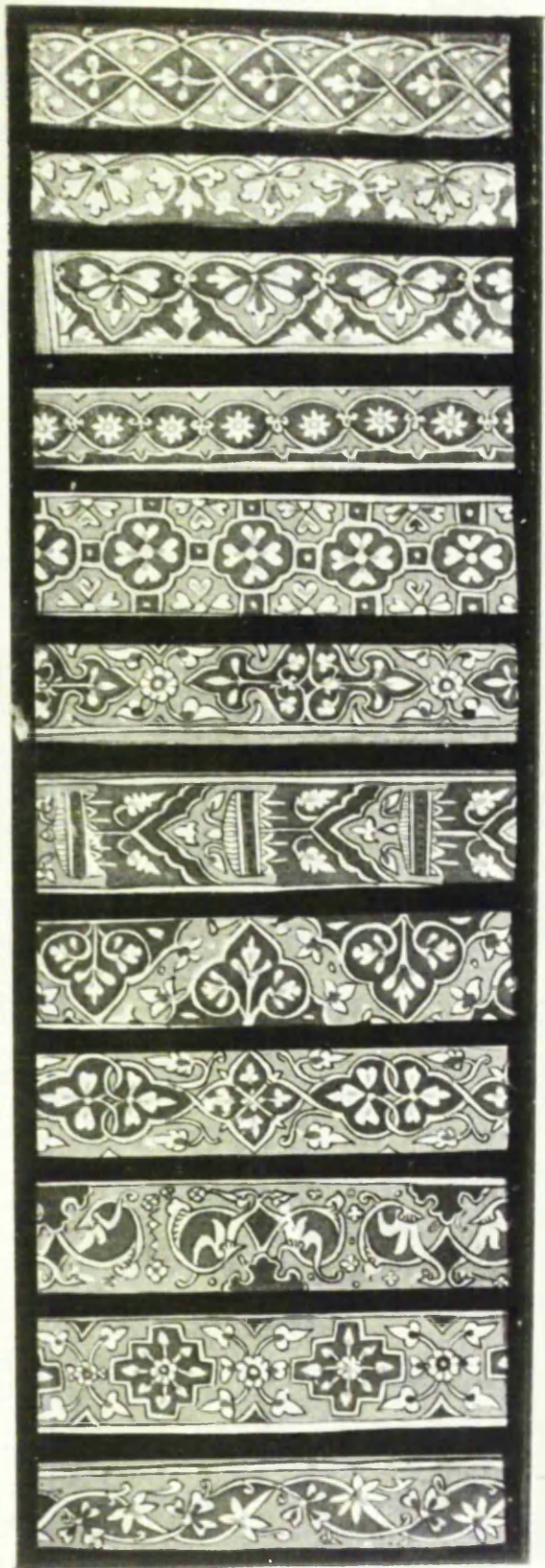


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Plate XIII: Floral designs of various multiple colours.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.





Fig. 9



the duel of Bharata Bāhubali,<sup>1</sup> the Kosā dance and the episode of Ārya Samiti,<sup>2</sup> Indra holding an umbrella over Āryadharmā,<sup>3</sup> the four Sam ghās worshipping at the Nirvāna of Mahāvira,<sup>4</sup> and the grief of Trīsalā at the immobility of the foetus.<sup>5</sup>

A close study of this manuscript reveals that it belongs to the western Indian traditions, i.e. pre-Muslim art of Rajpūtāna.<sup>6</sup> Not only are scenes from secular life introduced but also the first illustrations to the Hindu texts and the Vasanta Vilasa.<sup>7</sup> These new developments seem to be the first fruits of the re-awakening of

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1. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig. 11 on plate XVI, p. 414 in this respect.
  2. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig. 12 on plate XVI, p. 414 in this respect.
  3. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig. 13 on plate XVII p. 415 in this respect.
  4. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig. 14 on plate XVII p. 415 in this respect.
  5. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig. 15 on plate XVII p. 415 in this respect.
  6. Motī Chandra, op.cit.
  7. H. Goetz, op.cit.



Fig. 10



Fig.12: Kosā dance and an episode of Arya Samiti.



Fig.11: Duel between Bharata and his brother  
Bāhuhali.





Fig.13: Indra holding an umbrella over Āryadharmā.



Fig. 113.

Fig. 14: Four Samghas worshipping at the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra.



Fig. 114.

Fig.15: Grief of Trisalā at the immobility of the foetus.



Fig. 115.

the indigenous Indian creative urge inspired by the Vaishanava mystic movement.<sup>1</sup> It is further interesting to note a new point here concerning the treatment of the female figure.<sup>2</sup> Faces are carefully finished, and remind us of the representation of Indian women in the early Mughul school.<sup>3</sup>

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1. H. Götz, op.cit.

2. Motī Chandra, op.cit. Also see Fig.10 on plate XV p.413 in this respect.

3. Op.cit.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### MYSTICS AND THE MYSTICAL MOVEMENTS UNDER THE SHARQIS.

#### Introduction.

Holy men and mystics such as the religious scholars of the medieval period were, in fact, the real torch-bearers of moral reform and spiritual culture, and wherever they went and lived, established rich traditions in this respect. These mystics were often scholars of religious lore. Through preaching and correspondence they influenced both high and low in the performance of their moral duties. On the one hand they aimed at propagating the sūfī ideal through their own love and sincere dealings and on the other stressed responsibility of rulers and ruled for good government. This dual responsibility ensured the people the moral equalization of society - a society in which moral values determine the form of the state. And thus with this two-fold mission, mystics brought men nearer to God, purified human society and also brought a sense of dignity to various cultural groups.

The early Muslim rulers often tried to win over the mystics, as much out of conviction as out of expediency, in order to buttress their own personal authority and prestige. This holds true of the Sharqīs as well. They encouraged holy men and scholars of religion from all over India as well as from Middle-Eastern countries to come to Jaunpūr. They honoured the mystics and showed them great benevolence. The name of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī is pre-eminent in this respect.

The holy men came to Jaunpūr partly encouraged by the benevolent treatment of the Sharqī rulers and partly by conditions in the country from which they had migrated. The pioneer mystics who migrated to this part of the country belong to the Suhrawardiya Order. They were Makhdūm Asad ud-dīn Āftāb-ī-Hind and Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn Chirāgh-ī-Hind. Both were the disciples of Saikh Rukn ud-dīn of Multān. They left the latter place partly for fear of losing their lives because of the Mongol incursions and partly to propagate Islām in this part of the country, as it was thickly populated by Hindus. They were equally honoured by Zafar Khān, then governor of Zafarābād, and the latter place they made their permanent residence. Both Āftāb ī-Hind and Chirāgh ī-Hind were

saints of great virtues and scholars of exoteric subjects. They established monasteries and madrasas at Zafarābād, where they started teaching and preaching and where afterwards their traditions were maintained by their disciples and students under the patronage of the Sharqīs. The later history of the Suhrwardiya saints of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr belongs to them.

The second group to come to Jaunpūr was the Chishtiya mystics, who by now had lost their former importance partly because of the maltreatment by Muhammad bin Tughluq, and partly because of the invasion of Tīmūr. Many of them moved to Jaunpūr, after Sultān ush-Sharq had established his power on a sound footing. The first pioneers of the Chishtiya Order to reach Jaunpūr were Khwāja Abū'l-Fath Sambras, Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadar, Makhdūm 'Isā Tāj Chishtī and others.

The second phase of the Chishtiya Order belongs to the disciples of Sayyid 'Alā ul-Haqq of Pandua whose two chief Khalifas, Sayyid Mīr Ashaf Jahāngīr Samnānī, and Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Manikpurī, simultaneously came under the jurisdiction of the Sharqīs and established two important schools of the Chishtiya Order at Kachhūchha and Mānikpūr. Both these men being eminent saints and



scholars were well received by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī. Their reputation spread all over the country and attracted many to accept their discipleship. Another notable saint was Shāikh 'Abdul-Haqq Rudaulvī, the chief disciple of Jamāl ud-dīn Panīpatī, who had established an important school of the Sābiriya Order at Radaulī Sharif.

Sultān Ibrāhīm's kind treatment of the mystics made Jaunpūr also famous in foreign countries, so that many eminent scholars and saints emigrated to it and established independent mystic orders. Notable among them were Shāh Madār, originally an inhabitant of Syria. Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī received him well and provided him with a monastery at Makhūnpūr and all other facilities. Shāh Madār founded the mystic order of Madāriya which flourished in and around Jaunpūr. He was a profound scholar and saint of miraculous deeds whose reputation spread far and wide and attracted many disciples.

The Sharqī period is also noted for two other important mystic orders, i.e. "Qalandariya" and "Shattāriya". The latter was founded by Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī, who emigrated to Jaunpūr from Persia during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm. This mystic order also produced eminent saints and scholars among whom the name of Shāikh Hāfiz Jaunpūrī,

Shai<sub>kh</sub> Bud<sub>han</sub> and Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus, and Muhammad Ghausi, the author of Gulzār-ī-Abrār, shall ever be remembered. The Shattārī Order rose to an eminent position both politically and socially at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was suppressed first by the Sūrī kings and then by the Mughul Emperors.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to present the accounts of all saints silsila-wise, that is according to the orders they belonged to.

## Section I.

### The Suhrawardiya Order.

According to one version the founder of this Order was Shāh Zia ud-dīn Abū'n Najb 'Abdul Qādir Suhwardi (1167-68), the author of Adab ul-Muridan.<sup>1</sup> Most authorities, however, agree that the original founder of this Order was Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Abū Hāfis 'Umar bin 'Abdullah, who was born in 1145 A.D. in Suhrward, a province of Jabal in Persia.<sup>2</sup> He was a great theologian and a representative of orthodox Sūfism, best known for his book 'Awārif ul-Ma'ārif - A Thirteenth Century Manual of Medieval Mysticism.<sup>3</sup> It was his belief that one could attend to temporal matters without harming one's spiritual practices, i.e. "Poison does not harm one if one knows the antidote". The saints of this Order freely mixed with kings and accepted government posts, lands and wealth. Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Suhrwardī, i.e. the founder of this Order, even performed the duties of

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1. Jarrett, A'in, Vol.III, p.396. He was guide and paternal uncle of Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Suhrwardī.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islām, vol.IV, p.506.

3. IBID. K.A. Nizami, Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.131.

an ambassador of Baghdād in the court of Arbal.<sup>1</sup> He was later on put to death by Sultān Salāh ud-dīn in 587/1324-25, A.D.<sup>2</sup> This Order became very popular throughout central Asia and the countries of the Middle East and in those places numerous saints further enriched this Order. But the Mongol invasions forced these saints to flee and most of them made their way eastward. Soon after they established Khānīqāhs in Multān, Uch, and Tulamba.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Suhrwardī's many Khālīfas such as Shaikh Nūr ud-dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī Maulānā Mujaddid ud-dīn, Hājī, Shaikh Zīā ud-dīn Rūmī, Qāzī Hamīd ud-dīn Nagorī and Shaikh Nūr ud-dīn reached India and enrolled numerous disciples, but Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Zakiriyā Multanī, (1182-1286 A.D.) was the Khalifa who founded this Order in India.<sup>4</sup> His piety, profound devotion and spiritual greatness are established facts. Like his ancestors he continued such traditions as the acceptance

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1. <sup>rich</sup> Tazkirah Mishāikh i-Chist, p.121.

2. Ibid, p.131. De Lacy O'Leary, Arabic Thought and its Place in History, p.197.

3. <sup>rich</sup> Tazkirah Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.132.

4. Ibid, pp.131-32. Siyar ul'Ārifīn, f.22b.

of government posts and rich presents. He also accepted the office of Shaikh ul-Islām under Iletmish.<sup>1</sup> He possessed great wealth and when he died he left millions of rupees.<sup>2</sup> The saints of this Order, like the Chishtiyas, were fond of Samā' (mystic music) and were ardent patrons of music. According to tradition Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī was the inventor of many Indian airs, including Puriyā Dhanasrī and Rāg Multānī, which trace their origin from Multān.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn's sons and successors further continued his traditions and also freely mixed with kings and accepted Jāgīrs. His son and successor, Shaikh Sadr ud-dīn, even married the divorced wife of Balbān's son, Prince Buhammad, who was governor of Multān at that time. This resulted in embittered relations

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1. Another Khalīfa of this order Shaikh Nūr ud-dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī also held the post of Shaikh ul-Islām and freely entered the court of Sultān Iletmish, also see Nizām ud-dīn Auliya, Fawa'id ul fawa'id, p.223.
  2. His granaries were so well stocked that even the Wālī of Multān borrowed corn from him - see K.A. Nizāmī, I.C. Calcutta, October, 1948, p.389.
  3. Mirāt ī-Aftāb Numā, p.507. K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., p.388.

between the saint and <sup>the</sup> prince.<sup>1</sup> Another famous Suhrwardiya saint, Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Multānī, grandson of Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Zikariya Multānī, frequently visited the court of the Dehli Sultāns and even accepted a Jāgīr of one hundred villages from Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the saint, Sayyid Jalālud-dīn Bukhārī II, also known as Makhdūm Jahānian Jahān Gasht, used to visit Dehli where he was always a state guest.<sup>3</sup>

When Mongol invaders laid waste of the western parts of the Sultanate of Dehli, a grievous blow was inflicted upon this silsila. It became dispersed and lost its cohesion. Many of its mystics went and settled in the eastern parts of the Sultanate of Dehli and especially in Kara and Zafarābād. The first notable newcomers were Sayyid Makhdūm Asad ud-dīn Āftāb ī-Hind, son of Shaikh Sadr ud-dīn bin 'Ārif bin Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Zakariyā Multānī, and Sayyid Sadr ud-dīn Chirāgh ī-Hind.<sup>4</sup> Both

1. K.A., Nizāmī, op.cit. pp.388-91.

2. K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., p.391. Safināt ul-'Ārifīn, f.31b. He was son of Shaikh Sadr ud-din 'Ārif.

3. K.A. Nizāmī, I.C. Calcutta, October, 1948, p.391.

4. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp. 7-14.

were disciples of Sayyid Rukn ud-dīn Rukn ī-'Alan Multānī, and were great Suhrwardiya mystics and scholars who had come here with many disciples.<sup>1</sup> The later history of the Sahrwardiya Order of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr is concerned with their successors and disciples, who flourished under the Sharqīs. But before describing in detail the biographies and services of these disciples, we should like to devote some space to the two chief mystics mentioned above.

(A) The Suhrwardiya Mystics of Zafarābād.

Mukhdūm Sayyid Asad ud-dīn Āftāb ī-Hind.

He was born at Wāsīt in 'Irāq in 661/1262.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the ravages of the Mongols, he, along with his other relatives Makhdūm Zia ud-dīn Zāhid Karvī<sup>and</sup>/Sayyid Ismā'īl Karvī, migrated from Wāsīt to Dehli during the reign of Sultān Nasīr ud-dīn Mahmūd of Dehli.<sup>3</sup> They stayed in Dehli for some time and afterwards left for Kara Majhanpūr.<sup>4</sup> Here he received his early education

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.8-15.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.10.

3. Ibid, p.8.

4. Ibid, p.8.

including initiation into the esoteric sciences from his maternal grandfather, Makhdūm Zīā ud-dīn Karvī.<sup>1</sup> He is said to have completed his education at the age of twenty.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards he went to Dehli for a short period, where he was accorded great appreciation and honour for his ability both in esoteric and exoteric subjects.<sup>3</sup> It is said that he also came into contact here with Hazrat Nizām ud-dīn Auliya and received some instruction from him.<sup>4</sup> He also went to Multān and became a disciple of Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Rukn i'Ālam Multānī. He remained there for some time and received the Khirqā (mantle of spirituality).<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn in order to propagate Islām in that part of the country entitled him Āftāb-i-Hind, and posted him there.<sup>6</sup> He came there with<sup>a</sup> multitude of his disciples and finally settled down at Manaich/Zafarābād.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.8.

2. Ibid, p.8.

3. Ibid, p.8.

4. Ibid, p.8.

5. Ibid, p.8.

6. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.8. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2. 1963, pp.107-8.

7. Ibid. Tajallī-i-Nūr, op.cit., pp.10-11.



He died in 792/1390 and his tomb stands in Mohalla Sayyid-wārah of Zafarābād.<sup>1</sup> He left many disciples who continued his traditions.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have been a saint of miraculous powers.<sup>3</sup>

He was a profound scholar of Tafsīr (commentary of the holy Qurān), Fiqh (Jurisprudence) and Usūl (fundamental sciences), and also committed the holy Qurān to his memory.<sup>4</sup> He was a prolific writer. One of his treatises on spiritual discipline and another book known by the name of 'Ishaqiya became famous.<sup>5</sup> He also compared poetry in Persian.<sup>6</sup> He was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle, Shaiḫ Shihāb ud-dīn, son of Ziā ud-dīn Zāhid of Kara.<sup>7</sup> He was a qārī (reciter of the Qurān).<sup>8</sup> His face, it is said, beamed with such spiritual lustre

1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.10.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.10.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, p.8.

8. Ibid, pp.9-10.

that none dared to behold it.<sup>1</sup> His sons, Sayyid Nūr ud-dīn, Sayyid Abī Muhammad and Sayyid Qutb ud-dīn Abū'l Ghaib, were also noted saints and scholars.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the majāhids who had accompanied Makhdūm Aftāb-i-Hind and had settled in Zafarābād, were themselves considered Suhrwardiya mystics of great importance. Chief among these were Makhdūm Qiyāmud-dīn Sahrwardī (d. 838/1434), Shaiḫ 'Ālam Sahrwardī (d. 811/1408) and Mirān Shāh Sahrwardī.<sup>3</sup> The latter was supposed to have been an inhabitant of Syria. He had joined Makhdūm in Multān and had accompanied him on a campaign of Manaich/Zafarābād (d. 850/1445).<sup>4</sup> Two other important figures were Mirān Shāh Qalandar and Shāh Muhammad. The former lived to the age of over a hundred and thirty years and died in 854/1450 during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī.<sup>5</sup> The latter was one of the successors of Makhdūm Aftāb-i-Hind to whom he used to send his disciples for preliminary training before their initiation. He was considered a saint of

1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.9-10.

2. For details see, pp.

3. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, Dec., 1963, p.105.

4. Ibid.

5. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, Dec., 1963, p.105.

great piety. He died in 817/1434 and was buried in Āftāb ī-Hind's graveyard.<sup>1</sup> The account of Āftāb ī-Hind's associates and disciples will follow later.

Makhdūm Sadr ud-dīn Chirāgh ī-Hind.

Like Makhdūm Āftāb-ī-Hind, he is also one of those earlier saints who propagated Islām before the germination of the Sharqī dynasty in this part of the country. His numerous Khalīfas carried on his work here.

He was a descendant of the second Khalīfa of Islām, i.e. Hazrat Abū Bakr Siddīq, and was of the same lineage as Shaikh Hasan Basrī.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather, Shaikh Kamāl ud-dīn 'Alī Shāh, had migrated to Multān where Sadr ud-dīn was born in 705/1305.<sup>3</sup> He was a great scholar of esoteric and exoteric subjects and also committed to his memory the holy Qarān.<sup>4</sup> He was initiated into mysticism by his cousin, Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Multānī, who entitled him Chirāgh-ī-Hind, and commissioned him to propagate Islām in the eastern regions of Hindustān.<sup>5</sup> He reached there

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2. December, 1963, p.105.

2. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.11.

3. Ibid.

4. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.11-12.

5. Ibid, p.11.

with his bands of mujāhids and took part in the campaign of Manōich/Zafarābād against Saket Singh Rathor and liberated the Muslim population. There he joined with the mujāhids who had come there in the company of Makhdūm Āftāb-ī-Hind, and fought against the rebels. Having achieved success he finally settled down at Zafarābād.<sup>1</sup> He had there a very successful life, both as a scholar and a saint, and propagated Islām in that part of the country. His prayer-cells are still pointed out at places such as Mirzāpūr, Benāres, and Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> One of his wives is said to have been the divorced wife of Sultān Ghiyās ud-dīn. He had inherited from his father the vast wealth of seven lakhs of rupees which he distributed among the poor.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have gone on a pilgrimage on foot seven times.<sup>4</sup>

He also met the famous saint and scholar, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī, when the latter visited Zafarābād.

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

2. Ibid, p. 12.

3. Ibid, p. 13.

4. Ibid, p. 12.

It has been mentioned that Sayyid Samnānī had in his caravan a great number of horses, camels and elephants. On reaching Zafarābād, he encamped in the Jami' Masjid. Makhdūm Chirāgh ī-Hind did not appreciate this, and hinted his displeasure to Sayyid Ashraf Jāhangīr Samnānī. At this the latter vacated the place in an angry mood and left for Kachuchha.<sup>1</sup>

Makhdūm Āftāb-ī-Hind, was a saint of great fame and a man of awe-inspiring (Jālālī) disposition. Six of his disciples were always in attendance. He became a deeply spiritual man, so much so that in his last days he lived in ecstasy and did nothing else but say his prayers.<sup>2</sup> He had many disciples who later on settled in and around Zafarābād and carried on the Suhrwardiya traditions and also propagated Islām in that part of the country. He died in 795/1392 and was buried at Mohalla Shaikhwārah where his 'Urs is celebrated every year.<sup>3</sup>

Makhdūm Qiyām ud-dīn Suhrwardī Zafarābādī.

He was one of the chief disciples of Shaikh

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.12-13.

2. Ibid, p.12.

3. Ibid, pp.13-14.

Āftāb-ī-Hind, and accompanied the latter to Zafarābād, where he built his residence on the bank of the river Gūmtī.<sup>1</sup> He was a Qureshī by descent. Before migrating to Zafarābād he had lived in Dehli where he had also been blessed by Hazrat Nizām ud-dīn Auliya.<sup>2</sup> His piety was such that he devoted most of his time to prayer. First, he became a teacher of Islamic learning, but afterwards, he gave himself up entirely to spiritual disciplines.<sup>3</sup> He died in his prayer-cell in 817/1414 and was buried there. Later a mausoleum was built over this spot, and survives to the present day.<sup>4</sup> He was considered a great saint in Zafarābād where he left many disciples.<sup>5</sup> His sons and grandsons were great scholars.

(B) The Suhrwardiya Mystics of Jaunpūr.

Makhdūm Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Suhrwardī Jaunpūrī.

He was one of the chief Suhrwardiya saints of Jaunpūr, who after Tīmūr's invasion migrated from Dehli to

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.14-15.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.15.

5. Ibid., p.15.

Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> He was descended from the family of Hazrat Khwāja 'Abdullah Ansārī.<sup>2</sup> His father Hazrat Makhdūm Sadr ud-din had come to Dehli and made his abode there, earning for himself a great reputation as a saint.<sup>3</sup> Makhdūm Rukn ud-din first accepted the discipleship of Hazrat Bābā Tāj ud-dīn, a Suhrwardiya saint, and then that of Hazrat Jālāl Bukhārī Surkhposh.<sup>4</sup> He also received spiritual blessings at the hands of the Makhdūm Jahāniān.<sup>5</sup>

He was renowned for his charity,<sup>6</sup> and was also a saint of miraculous powers.<sup>7</sup> His piety even attracted Qāzī Shihab ud-din, Daulatābādī and Sultān Ibriāhim and

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.15.

2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.32.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. He even once gave away as alms his twelve year old son, Shaikh Jālāl to the Qalandars, so that they might sell him and fulfil their requirements. But Shaikh Jālāl was later on brought back at a price of five hundred gold mohars by 'Imād ul-Mulk, the Wazīr of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who had also made him his son-in-law.

7. Once he cured a seriously ill twelveyear old boy of a woman named Fatima only by reciting the name of God.

both the latter were his followers.<sup>1</sup> Makhdūm Rukn ud-dīn led a very successful life and left many disciples among whom Makhdūm Shaikh Mānkam and Shaikh Tāj of Patan were pre-eminent.<sup>2</sup> He died in 874/1469 and was buried in the courtyard of the mosque of Mohalla Tārtala of Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup>

Makhdūm Shaikh Jahāngīr Suhrwardī Jaunpūrī.

Shaikh Jālāl was the eldest son of the late Makhdūm Rukn ud-dīn Suhrwardī. He succeeded to his father's gaddī.<sup>4</sup> He erected a shrine on his father's grave and added to it a mosque and a monastery.<sup>5</sup> He died in 807/1404.<sup>6</sup> Afterwards his younger brother, Makhdūm Jahāngīr, who had also been the disciple of his

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Vol. I, p. 33.

1. Tajallī ī-Nūr/Once Qāzī ordered him through his pupil, Shaikh 'Adil, to migrate from Jaunpūr, as some of his actions were considered to be against Shāri'a but when Qāzī met him he became his follower. Hearing this Sultān Ibrāhim also took faith in him.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol. I, p. 34.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.



father, Makhdūm Rukn ud-din, succeeded Shaikh Jālāl, and continued the family tradition. He is also considered a notable saint of his time.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Husain Sharqī was very much attracted to him and often used to visit him.<sup>2</sup> He avoided popular gatherings, though he made an exception to attend the burial ceremony of Shaikh 'Isā Tāj Chishtī.<sup>3</sup> He lived quite a long life and died during the reign of Sikandar Lodī in 915/1509, and was buried in the courtyard of his father's shrine.<sup>4</sup> His son and disciple, Makhdūm Shāh Kabīr Chishtī, was also a renowned saint of his time and carried on the mystic traditions of his family.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.34.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

## Section II.

### The Chishtiya Order.

The Chishtiya Order flourished about the same time in and around Zafarābād and Jaunpūr. It differed in some respects from the Suhrwardiya Order. Whereas the mystics of the latter Order freely mixed with kings, accepted government posts, took part in politics and also amassed wealth, those of the former Order divorced themselves entirely from worldly pursuits, such as politics, Shughul (a medieval term for government service) and riches.<sup>1</sup> The devotees of this Order practised Chilla, i.e. praying for forty days and nights confined to a cell in the corner of a mosque.<sup>2</sup> They also believed in communion through visits to the tombs of holy men, who, according to the mystics, never die, but rather depart from one abode to another.<sup>3</sup> Like the Suhrwardiya, they considered Samā' (mystic music) as essential to inducing

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1. K.A. Nizāmī, I. Culture, Vol.XXII, No.4, 1948, p.388.

2. A. Halīm, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.3, 1963, p.72.

3. Ibid.

spiritual ecstasy.<sup>1</sup> They considered the society of the kings dangerous to the spiritual life, as it inhaled the infection of worldly love and ambition, and refused to visit them or receive them in their monasteries except under duress.<sup>2</sup> They refused to accept government offices or gifts from kings and noblemen, or did so with great reluctance, and promptly distributed the gifts among the poor, leaving a minimum for themselves. They depended mostly on the cultivation of waste lands and thus always escaped any contact with the government. They permitted their disciples, however, to accept service.

This Order was founded by Khwāja Abū Ishāq Shāmī Chishtī, who after migrating from Asia Minor had settled down at Chisht in Khurāsān.<sup>3</sup> The first Chishtiya saint who had entered India in the company of Mahmūd Ghaznavī was Khwāja Abū Muhammad bin Abī Ahmad Chishtī.<sup>4</sup> The one who in a real sense founded this Order was Khwāja Mu'īn ud-dīn Chishtī of Sijistān (b. 1142 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> He

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.3, December, 1963, p.72.

2. Ibid, p.71.

3. A. Halim, Vol.III, No.2, December, 1963, p.72. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chisht, p.131.

4. Ibid, p.142.

5. Ibid, pp.140-42.

received his initial training from Khwāja 'Usmān Chishtī Harūnī.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Prithvī Rāj, he migrated to India.<sup>2</sup> When he reached Lahore, he practised Chilla at the shrine of Shaikh Husain Zanjānī Dātā Gan Bakhash, the author of the famous Kashaf ul-Ma'jūb.<sup>3</sup> He settled down in Ajmer and died there in 1236 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Khwāja Mu'īn ud-dīn Chishtī was a great saint who established this Order on very sound foundations and whose disciples carried on his traditions both inside India and in foreign parts. His two disciples, Pīr Karīm in Ceylon and Shaikh Alā Dād Kirmān in Bengāl, established a branch of the same Silsila in their respective abodes.<sup>5</sup> His chief Disciple, Khwāja Qutb ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, established this Order in the vicinity of Dehli.<sup>6</sup> The

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1. Tārīkh Masha'ikh-i-Chisht, p.140.

2. Ibid, pp.142-43.

3. Safīnat ul-'Ārifīn, ff.21.

4. Siyar ul-'Ārifīn, op.cit. f.15b.

5. Tārīkh Mishāikh-i-Chisht, p.

6. Ibid.

latter's disciple, Hazrat Farīd ud-dīn Gaj Shakar, established this Order in Punjāb at Patan (Pak-Patan).<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Farīd ud-dīn's two chief Khalīfas, Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliyā and Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir, were men of great spirituality and are considered to be amongst some of the greatest of Indo-Muslim mystics, who further enriched this Order's sound traditions in and outside Delhi.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn's chief Khalīfa and successor, Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi, the author of Khair ul-Majālis (1325-56 A.D.), spread this Order far and wide.<sup>3</sup>

At this stage Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi his disciples and colleagues suffered great hardships at the hands of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq.<sup>4</sup> He urged them

1. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chisht, pp. 166-67,

2. Ibid, pp. 166-67. Siyar ul-auliya OR 1746, f.195a.

3. Ibid, p.181.

4. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chishta, pp.194-95. Maulānā Fakhr ud-dīn Zardārī, Shaikh Qutb ud-dīn Munawwar and Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi were asked by Muhammad bin Tughluq to go as missionaries to different parts of his Empire. Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi accompanied him on the campaign of Gujarāt and Sind, and this affected the prestige of the Chishtiya saints. For details, see Siyar ul-Auliya, ff. 71-73.

to migrate to Daulatābād and also assigned to them state duties. Thus many Khalīfas of Shaikh Chirāgh Dehlvi, and his contemporaries left for other provincial towns of India. At the advance of Tīmūr and after the sack of Dehli, the rest followed suit and also migrated to provincial towns of Bengāl, Gujarāt, Mālwah, Deccan and Jaunpūr, which were now building themselves up as strong monarchies. Jaunpūr took a lead in this respect, in the first instance because it was nearer to Dehli, and secondly owing to the benevolent patronage of the Sharqīs as compared with that of their contemporaries in other parts of the country. Here sought refuge not only the Chishtiya saints of Dehli, but also those from foreign lands, who were refugees from the Mongol invasions. Because of their arrival various new centres came into being at places such as Lucknow, Mānikpur, ~~Kachhūchha~~ Radaulī, Kālpī, Iraj, Kara and others.

It is noteworthy that Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn Chirāgh Dehlvi was the last of the great Chishtiya saints, for after him the Order suffered an eclipse.

Here follow the chief biographies and works of the Chishtiya saints who lived and flourished at various centres in the jurisdiction of the Sharqīs.

(A) The Chishtiya Mystics of Jaunpūr.Khawāja Abū'āl Fath Sambras.

He is one of the chief saints of the Chishtiya Order in Jaunpūr whose reputation spread far and wide during his lifetime. His father's name was Shaikh Yāhī and his grandfather was Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Dehli in 772/1370.<sup>2</sup> His grandfather, who was also his Pīr, took a keen interest in him and brought him up with great care, and instructed him in all subjects.<sup>3</sup> He attained competence in the various subjects of Shari'a as well as mysticism. He was <sup>a</sup>fluent speaker and a forciful debater who achieved a persuasive style both in his lectures and in his writings. He was a poet, too, and wrote Qasā'id and poems both in Arabic and Persian.<sup>4</sup> He led a very pious life, lived in absolute tawakkul and was credited with miracles.<sup>5</sup> Later on, on account of the

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1. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.170. Khazīnat ul asfiyā, p.395. Mīrāt ul-asrār, f.457a. Safīnat ul-aulyā, p.36.

2. Akhbar ul-aklyār, p.170.

3. Mirat ul-assār, f457b.

4. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.395. Akhbar ul-aklyār, p.170. Mīrāt ul-assar, f.456b.

5. Ibid, f.457b.

invasion of Tīmūr, he migrated to Jaunpūr where the reigning king, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, became one of his devotees.<sup>1</sup> The Khwāja led a very simple life and it is said that he contented himself with dry bread only, but those who assembled at his hermitage always had excellent dishes.<sup>2</sup>

Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn was his contemporary and with his Khwāja Abū'ul Fath had many theological debates.<sup>3</sup> He had many disciples, chief among whom were Shaikh Muhammad Ab Kash Daryābādī, and Shaikh Fazl ud-dīn Bijlorī, who were great saints and scholars of their time.<sup>4</sup> Some of Khwāja's utterances were noted down by his disciples. It is said that Khwāja Abū'ul Fath Sambras collected the memoirs of his grandfather, Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadīr which are extant to-day.<sup>5</sup> He died on 13th Rabī, I 858/23rd March, 1454, during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī.<sup>6</sup> His

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1. Akhbar ul-aklyār, op.cit. Khazīmat ul asfiyā, p.396. He accompanied Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn on this journey to Jaunpūr.

2. Mirat ul-asrār, f.456b.

3. Ibid, f.457b.

4. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.21.

5. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.164.

6. Ibid, p.170. Khazīmat ul asfiyā, p.396. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.21.



shrine and his monastery are in Mohallah Sipā<sup>ā</sup>h of Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Makhdūm 'Isā Tāj Chishtī.

He was one of the renowned saints of Jaunpūr. His father, Ahmad 'Isā, one of the nobles of Dehli, had migrated to Jaunpūr after the invasion of Tīmūr.<sup>2</sup> Shāikh 'Isā was only seven or eight years old when he came to Jaunpūr. Here he first became a student of Shāikh Abū'l Fath Sambras and then of Qāzī Shihāh ud-dīn Daulatābādī who taught him all the esoteric subjects.<sup>3</sup> The Qāzī took a great interest in his education. It is mentioned that the learned Qāzī also wrote for him the commentary of Baizwī.<sup>4</sup>

Afterwards he became a disciple of Shāikh Fath Ullah Awadhī and learned from him further esoteric as well as exoteric knowledge and also received from him Khirqai-

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1. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.21.

2. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.175. Mirāt ul asrār, f.485a.

3. Khazīnat ul asfiyā, p.411. Bahr i-Zakhkhār, f.255a. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.21-22.

4. Ibid, p.22. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.485a. Tazkirah, p.205. Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, f.255a. Khaznat ul asfiyā, p.411.

Khilāfat.<sup>1</sup> His eldest brother, Shāikh Ahmad,<sup>who</sup> was also the Khalīfa of Shāikh Fath Ullah Awadhī, lived in Bihār where his shrine is a great centre of attraction for the local people.<sup>2</sup>

Since his boyhood Shāikh 'Isā Tāj had been a man of pious nature, who prayed and practised mysticism to such an extent that his chin was permanently turned towards his chest.<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned that he practised his mystic pursuits for twelve years in the same manner and only at the time of his prayers used to leave his prayer-cell.<sup>4</sup> It was also his habit to keep his head down and he never looked at people. He lived a solitary life for forty years and spent his life in tawakkul.<sup>4</sup> Once Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī sent him clothes and some other presents, which he returned with an answer in couplet form that, "I prefer my simple garments to grand clothes and I do not

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Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.411.

1. Ibid. Mirāt ul asrar, f.485a. Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, f.255a.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, op.cit.

3. Ibid. Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, op.cit. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.175.

4. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.22.

5. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.22.

want the wealth and even the country of Prophet Hazrat Sulaimān to relieve me of my cares."<sup>1</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī had great regard for him and built for him a Jāmi' Masjid adjacent to his monastery, which was afterwards completed by Sultan Husain Sharqī.<sup>2</sup>

He died in 845/1441 and was buried near the Jāmi' Masjid; here later on a grand tomb was built by Makhdūm Chand Barlās.<sup>3</sup> He had many disciples among whom Shaikh Budhan of Achōlī and Mu'iz ud-dīn were renowned.<sup>4</sup> He was a noted poet and wrote poetry in both Arabic and Persian, though mostly in the former.<sup>5</sup>

Shaikh Shams ul-Haqq Barī Haqqānt.

He was one of the chief disciple of Shaikh 'Isā

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.22.
  2. Ibid, p.23.
  3. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.175 - mentions his date of death 845/1441 and Khazīnat ul-asfiyā 911/1505, but Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.23-24 - 870/1465 on the authority of Ganj-i-Rashīdī.
  4. Mirat ul-asrār, f.485b.
  5. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.23.

Chishtī.<sup>1</sup> His behaviour towards all people was that of a righteous person and, on account of this, he became known as Barī Haqqānī.<sup>2</sup> At the age of eighteen he had completed his education in the various subjects of the Shari'a and mysticism.<sup>3</sup> He regularly delivered lectures on the subjects of Islām and earned a great reputation as a successful preacher.<sup>4</sup> Many nobles of the Sharqīs and other people regularly attended his lectures. He was a keen listener to mystic music which often overwhelmed him with ecstasy. He lived one hundred and thirty years and died in 950/1543 in Jaunpūr.<sup>5</sup> He was buried in Mohalla 'Arzan where his shrine still stands.<sup>6</sup> He left many disciples who successfully continued his tradition.

Makhdūm Bahā ud-dīn Chishtī.

He was descended from the family of Qāzī Hamīd

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.25.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

Nagorī.<sup>1</sup> To his family belonged many respected Shaikhs and nobles of Jaunpūr. He was a student and disciple of Shaikh 'Isā Tāj Chishtī,<sup>2</sup> but he received his Khirqā-i-Khilāfat from Sayyid Rājī Hāmid Shāh.<sup>3</sup> He was conspicuous for his renunciation, truthfulness and piety, and was pre-eminent as a holy man of his time who was held in great esteem.<sup>4</sup> When he was overpowered by ecstatic bliss on hearing mystic music, even ten men were not sufficient to hold him.<sup>5</sup> Sultān Husain Sharqī had a great regard for him and built a monastery for him.<sup>6</sup> He attained an age of more than one hundred years and died in 947/1540.<sup>7</sup> His shrine stands in Mohalla Adhan Shāh of Jaunpūr. He left many disciples and one of his sons,

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.27.

2. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.192. Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, f.299a.  
Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.192.

3. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.192.

4. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.28.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, but Bahr-i-Zakhkhār mentions his date of death as 14th Jamādī I, 911/1505.

Shaikh Adhan Jaunpūr, was a renowned saint of his time.<sup>1</sup>

Makhdūm Shaikh Adhan Chishtī.

He was the son of Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn Jaunpūrī who himself instructed him in various branches of learning and trained him up spiritually.<sup>2</sup> Though a learned scholar, Shaikh Adhan never taught, but spent his whole life studying religious and spiritual subjects and practising mysticism.<sup>3</sup> He was a murīd (disciple) of his own father and as a saint of the Chishtiya Order earned a great name.<sup>4</sup> His contemporaries, Makhdūm Bandagī Jalāl ul-Haqq Qāzī khān Nāsihī Zafarābādī, Makhdūm Sayyid Darwesh 'Alī, Muhammad Mahmūd Zafarābādī, and Makhdūm Sayyid 'Alī, all held him in high regard and considered him Shaikh ul Shuyyūkh of his time.<sup>5</sup> He lived a very long life of more than one hundred years, but, in spite of his old age,

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol. I, p. 28.

2. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p. 226. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp. 431-32. Safīnat ul-auliya, p. 192. Bahr-i-Zakhkhār, f. 299b.

3. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol. I, p. 29.

4. Akhbār ul-akhyār, op.cit.

5. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp. 431-32. Bahr i-Zakhkhār, f. 299b.

he looked very young and even in his declining years used to say his prayers standing.<sup>1</sup> He was very fond of mystic music.<sup>2</sup> He had sons of seventy and eighty years of age who, like him, had white beards, and sometimes it became difficult to differentiate between father and sons.<sup>3</sup> He died in 970/1562 and was buried in Mohalla, also known by his name of Shaikh Adhan, where the erection of his shrine was afterwards supervised by Mirzā Badū Beg at the order of Mun'im <sup>Khān</sup> Khān-i-Khānān.<sup>4</sup> Some of his descendants still live in Jaunpūr and others in Salun.<sup>5</sup>

Shaikh Wajh ud-dīn Ashraf Chishtī.

He is also known as Shaikh Farīd.<sup>6</sup> He was descended from the family of Hazrat 'Umar, the second Caliph.<sup>7</sup> His grandfather Bandagī Khalīl migrated from Arabia to

1. Bāhr-i-Zakhkhār, f.299b.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.226. Khazīmat ul-asfujā, p.432. Bāhr i- Zakhkhar, f.300a. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.30-31.

5. Ibid.

6. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.25.

7. Ibid.

India.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Farīd received his education in Benāres where he also afterwards accepted the discipleship of Khwāja Mubārak Benārsī, a disciple of Shaikh 'Isā Chishtī.<sup>2</sup> He also went on a pilgrimage to Mekka a number of times, and afterwards, according to his Pīr Shaikh 'Isā Tāj Chishtī, he settled down in Jaunpur where he spent the rest of his life preaching and practising the mystic disciplines of the Chishtiya Order during the reign of Mahmūd and Husain Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> The date of his death is not known, but his shrine still stands in Mohalla Shāh Ganj of Jaunpūr to this day.<sup>4</sup>

Sayyid 'Alā ud-dīn Lajūrī Chishtī.

He came from a Sayyid family. He received the Khirqā-ī-Khilāfāt from Sayyid Mahmūd Gesū Darāz.<sup>5</sup> He was a great scholar and at the same time a saint of miraculous powers.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes he was found acting according to

1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.25.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, Vol.I, p.48. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.225.

6. Ibid. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.48.



Shari'a and at other times in an ecstatic condition.<sup>1</sup>

He was a remarkable teacher and taught many who rose to eminent positions later on. He attained high skill in Indian music.<sup>2</sup> He also wrote poetry of considerable merit.<sup>3</sup> He had a great love for birds and it is recorded that on the anniversary of his birth, children in order to commemorate him used to throw grains to the birds, after reciting holy verses over them.<sup>4</sup> He attained an age of more than one hundred years and died in 887/1482.<sup>5</sup> He was buried in Mohalla Dalwā-ghāt of Jaunpūr.<sup>6</sup>

Makhdūm Shaikh Hasan Tāhir Chishtī.

He was one of the renowned Mashaikhs of Jaunpūr. His father, Shaikh Zāhir, went there to study from Multān and became a student of Shaikh Bārī Haqqānī Zafarābādī.<sup>7</sup>

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- Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.48.
1. Ibid. Akhbar-ul-akhyar, p.225.
  2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.40.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Ibid.
  7. Akhbar-ul-akhyar, p.190. Tazkirah, p.47 - is mistaken in writing his father's name as Tahir. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, pp.40-41, also commits the same mistake.

Afterwards he settled in Bihār, where Shaiḡh Hasan was born.<sup>1</sup> But Shaiḡh Hasan was brought up and educated in Jaunpūr.<sup>2</sup> He spent most of his youth in studying and also profited from the company of contemporary saints.<sup>3</sup> He was married to the daughter of Shaiḡh 'Isā Tāj who also took a great interest in his scholastic and mystic pursuits.<sup>4</sup> When he had completed this course and understood the philosophy of Tauhid, his father invited some scholars to cross-examine him; he stood the test very successfully.<sup>5</sup> As Rājī Hāmid Shāh's reputation was very great in those days, Shaiḡh Hasan accepted his discipleship. It is said that Shaiḡh Hasan was Rājī Hāmid Shāh's first disciple and also one of his best.<sup>6</sup> He wrote many books and treatises, the best known being Rasāla Muftāh ul-Faiz.

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1. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.190. Tazkirah, p.47.

2. Ibid. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.190.

3. Ibid. Tazkirah, p.47.

4. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.190. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.409.

5. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.190. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.409.

6. Ibid., pp.409-10. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.190.

Bārbāk Shāh of Jaunpūr was reputedly his disciple. When Bārbāk Shāh rebelled against Sikandar Lodī, he asked the Shaikh to pray for him for the throne of Dehli, but the Shaikh Hasan advised him to rid himself of this false ambition and to obey his elder brother, Sikandar Lodī.<sup>2</sup> The latter had great regard for Shaikh Hasan and invited him to Āgrā, but Shaikh Hasan preferred to live in Dehli, where he died in 909/1503.<sup>3</sup> One of his younger brothers, Shaikh Abd ul-'Azīz, was also a reputed scholar and saint of Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Hasan Chishtī.

He is also known by the name of Shāh Khiyālī. He was the eldest son and at the same time a disciple of Shaikh Hasan Tāhir Chishtī, and was also a grandson of Shaikh 'Isā Tāj Chishtī.<sup>5</sup> He is considered to be one of the

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- Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.190.
1. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, pp.409-10. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol. I, pp.42-43.
  2. Akhbār ul-Akhyār, p.190. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.410.
  3. Ibid. Tazkira, p.47. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.42 - mentions his date of death 910/1504.
  4. Ibid, Vol.I, pp.43-44.
  5. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.228. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.415. Tazkiriah, p.185.

notable saints of his time. He spent many years as a mujāwar in Madīna.<sup>1</sup>

Though he was an adherent of the Chishtiya Order he had obtained Khirqāī-Khilāfat from one of the Mashāikhs of the Qadiriya Order of Yaman.<sup>2</sup> He spent most of his time in practising mystic pursuits. He left many disciples, pre-eminent among whom was Shaikh Faze Ullah Dehlvi, also known as Shaikh Manjhu. Later he migrated to Dehli with his father, where he died in 944/1537, and was buried at the back of his father's shrine.<sup>3</sup>

#### Shāh Ajmerī Chishtī.

He migrated from Dehli to Jaunpūr during the reign of the Sharqīs, where he lived in a Mohalla now known by the name of Ajmerī.<sup>4</sup> He was a profound scholar and a mystic.<sup>5</sup> He died in Jaunpūr where his descendants still live, but unfortunately no further details of

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Tazkirah, p.185.

1. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.415.

2. Ibid. Tazkirah, p.185.

3. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.416. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I. p.43.

4. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.50.

5. Ibid.

his life have come to light.<sup>1</sup>

Makhdūm Bandagī Shaikh Ma'rūf Chishtī.

His father Shaikh 'Ārif, also known as Sher Sawār, a descendant of Shaikh Jalāl Bukhārī, who had migrated to Jaunpūr from his native country owing to unavoidable circumstances.<sup>2</sup> There he led a very simple life . His tomb still stands in the village of Pakariyapūr on the road to Allahābād near Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup>

Shāh Ma'rūf was born in Jaunpūr and was a student of the famous scholar Maulānā Ilah Dād, from whom he learned all the esoteric and exoteric subjects as well as various spiritual disciplines.<sup>4</sup> Later on he became a noted saint of his time. He followed assiduously his spiritual pursuits and it is recorded that he remained in his prayer-cell for thirty years, and never came out of it to come into contact with worldly affairs.<sup>5</sup> He left

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.50.

2. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.51. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.192.

3. Ibid. Tajallī ī-Nūr, op.cit.

4. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.192.

5. Ibid. Tajallī ī-Nūr, op.cit.

many disciples. Among them, Ahmad Zain Jaunpūrī, was a profound scholar and a highly respected mystic.<sup>1</sup> One of his grandsons, Khwāja Shaikh Qutb ud-dīn, was a notable mystic and scholar whose lectures attracted many scholars.<sup>2</sup> Khwāja Qutb ud-dīn's son, Khawāja Shaikh Sa'īd, was also a scholar and mystic who had many disciples.<sup>3</sup>

Makhdūm Shaikh Dāniyāl Khizrī.

He was a teacher of the renowned Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, the founder of the Mahdviya Sect in India. His father, Shaikh Hasan ibn i-Husām ud-dīn Balkhī, was from Balkh.<sup>4</sup> In his childhood Shaikh Dāniyāl had enjoyed every worldly comfort, but for some reason, he left his native country afterwards, and migrated to India.<sup>5</sup> He settled for some time in Dehli where he was in government service, but one day his spiritual thirst urged him to go

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Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.51.

1. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.192.

2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.51.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., Vol.I, p.55.

5. Ibid, Vol.I, p.55.

to Mānikpūr.<sup>1</sup> Here he lived and prayed for some time in a lonely cell, but his dissatisfaction made him leave for Benāras.<sup>2</sup>

At Benāras while he was practising his mystic pursuits, one day Hazrat Khizwā appeared to him, and adorned him with Khirqā-ī-Khilāfat.<sup>3</sup> Apart from that he also became a disciple of Sayyid Rājī Hāmīd Shāh Manikpūrī, and was also blessed spiritually by Khwāja Mū'in ud-dīn Chishtī Ajmerī.<sup>4</sup> He came to Jaunpūr during the reign of Sultān Husain Sharqī.<sup>5</sup>

Shaikh Dāniyāl was a most renowned scholar and saint and was considered one of the great Mashāikhs of his time.<sup>6</sup> He was a profound teacher and some of his students attained outstanding fame. Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, and his brother, Sayyid Ahmad, were both his

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Tajallī-ī-Nūr,

1. Ibid, Vol.I, p.55.
2. Ibid, Vol.I, p.55.
3. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I. p.56.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, Vol.I, p.57.
6. Ibid, Vol.I, p.57.

pupils and disciples whereas the former founded the Mahdvi<sup>y</sup>a sect, the latter succeeded Sayyid Dāniyāl Khizrī and continued his traditions.<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Ahmad was a learned scholar who also entitled himself Khizrī, and his descendants coming after him continued to bear this name.<sup>2</sup> He had a large number of followers and disciples in and around Jaunpūr. Shaikh Dāniyāl was reputed to have miraculous powers. He expired in 994/1537, - the day he had forecast, and was buried near the Hauz-i-Khās at the back of the tomb of the Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī.<sup>3</sup>

Makhdūm Sayyid Sadr ud-dīn Shāh Zahidī  
Chishtī.

The early years of his life were spent in government service and during that period he amassed a huge amount of wealth.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards he forsook all worldly affairs, distributed all his wealth among the poor, and concentrated his attention on spiritual discipline.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I., p.57.

2. Ibid, Vol.I., p.57.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, p.56. For details, see pp.

4. Tajallī i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.52.

5. Ibid.



He went to Mānikpūr and accepted discipleship from Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Manikpurī and practised the religious life with the utmost dedication till he secured his Caliphal mantle.<sup>1</sup> Later on he shifted to Jaunpūr where he became a notable saint. He was a poet, too, and his favourite theme in this connection was love.<sup>2</sup> One of his brothers, Sayyid Badr ud-dīn, was also a great scholar and saint of Bihār.<sup>3</sup> Makhdūm Sayyid Sadr ud-dīn died in 933/1526 and was buried in the Mohalla Mullā Tola in Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup>

(B) The Chishtiya Mystics of Mānikpūr Sharīf.

Shaikh Husam ud-dīn Mānikpurī.

He was one of the chief mystics of the Chishtiya Order connected with this period. He was the son of Maulānā Khwāja, who was a great saint and scholar during this period at Mānikpūr.<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Husam ud-dīn's grand-

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.52.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, p.53.

4. Ibid, Vol.I, p.53.

5. Tazkirah, p.46.

father, Maulānā Jalāl ud-dīn, had also been a great saint and learned scholar, of his time, and had led a very pious life.<sup>1</sup> He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad, who himself was a disciple of Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliya.<sup>2</sup> He had migrated from Dehli to Mānikpūr where he used to deliver lectures on Islām. Shaikh Husām ud-dīn after finishing his literary education in Mānikpūr went to Pandua, where he lived for some time and accepted discipleship from Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'Ālam. Afterwards he became the principal Khalīfas of the Shaikh Qutb ul-'Ālam.<sup>3</sup> On his return to Mānikpūr he also profited from Shaikh Nasir ud-dīn Mānikpūrī, and enjoyed the warm friendship of Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattārī, i.e. the founder of the Shattāriya Order.<sup>4</sup> His greatness as a saint can be judged from the fact that his Pīr, Shaikh Qutb ul 'Ālam, wished him to put the Khirqā on his (Qutb ul 'Ālam's) son and successor,

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1. Akhbār ul-aklyār, p.173.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.501a.

3. Tazkirah, p.46. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.501b. Khazimat ul-asfirjā, p.400. Akhbar ul-asfirjā, ff.34-35.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff.501-2.

Hazrat Haqq. It became a tradition for the sons and successors of Shaikh Husām ud-dīn to put the Khirqā on the sons and successors of Shaikh 'Alā ul-Haqq.<sup>1</sup> His Malfūzāt, known by the name of Rafīq ul-'Arifīn, afterwards collected by one of his disciples, throw light on his career as well as on cultural conditions of that time.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Husām ud-dīn was a unique saint of his time, and led a very successful life. He died in 1456 A.D. during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> At the time of his death he called for his son, Qāzī Shāh, and gave him the certificate of succession.<sup>4</sup> It is said that Sayyid Rājī Hāmid Shāh was present on that occasion and at once brought his six-months old son, Sayyid Nūr, and made him a disciple of Qāzī Shāh.<sup>5</sup> At this Shaikh Husām ud-dīn said that whatever spiritual wealth he had, he gave to his own son and that this wealth was shared by Sayyid Rājī's son, i.e. Sayyid Nūr.<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Husām ud-dīn taught the

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff. 500-1.

2. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, ff.34-35.

3. Mirāt ul-asrār, op.cit.

4. Ibid, f.503a.

5. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.503a.

6. Ibid.

mystic disciplines to many disciples, notable among whom were Shaikh Kamāl, also known as Shaikh Kālū,<sup>1</sup> Rājī Hāmid Shāh, and Shāh Sayyidu.

Rājī Hāmid Shāh Mānikpurī.

He was a disciple of Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Mānikpurī, as mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> The author of Akhbār ul-akhyār mentions that during the reign of Sultān Ilet-mish two Sayyid brothers migrated from Gardez to Dehli.<sup>3</sup> One of them was Sayyid Shams ud-dīn, who afterwards went to Bayāna in Mewāt and settled there. The other was Sayyid Shihāb ud-dīn, who remained in Dehli.<sup>4</sup> He was the ancestor of Sayyid Rājī Hāmid Shāh and was greatly respected by the local people, who as an expression of their esteem for him, started calling him Rājī. This same title was later adopted by his successors.<sup>5</sup> Rājī Hāmid Shāh

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Mirāt ul-asrār, f.503a.

1. Ibid. Shaikh Kālū is said to have been one of the wisest and most pious persons of his time. He lies buried in Kara of Mānikpur. See Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.174 - for further details.
2. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.189. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.409. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.44b.
3. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p. 189.
4. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.409.
5. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.189. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.409.

was originally a professional soldier, but feeling the call to a spiritual life he abandoned all worldly affairs, and entered the discipleship of Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Mānikpūrī.<sup>1</sup> It is said that though Rājī Hamid Shāh was not a scholar, yet he could talk and discuss with the learned.<sup>2</sup> He practised spiritual discipline and prayed very hard until he received the Khirqā i-Khilafāt from his Shaikh. It is mentioned that whenever he wanted to give advice or impart some spiritual experience to his disciples, he would allude to an incident in some other person's life, from which the listeners could discern the moral.<sup>3</sup>

He died in 904/1495 and was buried in Mānikpūr.<sup>4</sup> He is believed to have attained miraculous powers. His son, Rājī Sayyid Nūr, was also a notable saint.<sup>5</sup> To hide his identity he used to don the dress of a soldier.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Akḥbār ul-akhyār, p.189.

2. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfujā, p.409.

3. Akḥbār ul-akhyār, p.189.

4. Khazīnat ul-asfujā, p.409.

5. Akḥbār ul-akhyār, p.189.

6. Ibid.

He is also buried at Mānikpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Shāh Sayyidū Mānikpūrī.

Before entering this mystic Order, he had been in government service and had collected a huge amount of wealth.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, however, he experienced spiritual awakening and went to Mānikpūr, there accepting discipleship from Shaikh Husām ud-dīn, from whom he also received Khirqā i-Khilafāt.<sup>3</sup> The author of Akhbār ul-aklyār, mentions that Shāh Sayyadū's spiritual pursuits also affected his beloved, and transformed her too into a saint and she joined him as well.<sup>4</sup> His saintly life and spiritual ecstasy obliterated his awareness of temporal concerns. He was a poet and was very fond of mystic music.<sup>5</sup> His shrine is in Fathpūr Hansorā, which is quite near to Mānikpūr.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p. 189.

2. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.189.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.502b.

6. Ibid.

Maulānā Shaikhan Manikpūrī.

He committed to his memory the holy Qurān, and led a very solitary life. He had a good number of followers who often came to pay homage to him.<sup>1</sup> It is said that if anyone ever brought food to him, he would take a morsel, and return the rest.<sup>2</sup> He always asked his visitors about their personal affairs, such as their lands or cultivation or their oxen, among other things.<sup>3</sup> Once Shaikh Husām ud-dīn, who was his contemporary, asked him why he questioned them about these things instead of discussing mystic matters. His reply was that they do not have knowledge of such things and so he found it wise to relieve them by asking them about their personal problems. On returning home, they would discuss these and, in so doing, would feel a sense of pride and also divine pleasure.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.174.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

### Section III.

#### The Ashrafiya Order, i.e. The Chishtiya Mystics of Kachhūchha Sharīf.

#### Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī.

He was a man of many virtues, and a saint of deep spirituality, whose many miraculous deeds have been recorded by many chroniclers. He propagated Islām in and outside India. He was widely travelled and visited many religious and cultural centres of India and of the Middle-Eastern countries, gaining much knowledge from there. He influenced thousands by virtue of his spiritual experiences, writings and personal example.

He originally came from Samnān and was the son of Sultān Ibrāhīm, the ruler of that place, who belonged to the family of the Nūr Bakhsh Sayyids.<sup>1</sup> Mir Ashraf was very intelligent, and committed the holy Qurān to his memory in seven different styles of recitation at the age of seven, and at the age of fourteen he had completed all the subjects of Shari'a.<sup>2</sup> He was well-versed in Tafsīr

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\*. Mirāt ul-asrār, p.431a.

2. Ibid.



and Hadīs and was also acquainted with the sayings of the companions of the holy Prophet.<sup>1</sup> After his father's death, he succeeded to the throne, but he took little interest in his royal duties and used to spend most of his time in the company of saints and especially that of Hazrat Rukn ud-dīn 'Alā'ul daula Samnānī.<sup>2</sup> One night Hazrat Khizr appeared to him in a dream and advised him to occupy his mind sometimes with the affairs of the Sultanate, and also suggested to him that he should<sup>do</sup>/some Wazā'if (religious practices).<sup>3</sup> Mīr Ashraf practised those Wazā'if for two years. Then, taking a cue from a dream, he resolved to abdicate in favour of his brother and proceed to India to become a disciple of Shaikh 'Alā ul-Haqq Bengālī. When he asked the permission of his mother, Khadijah Begum, a lady of pious descent, she affirmed that she had been already intimated through a dream that one of her sons would be a celebrated saint.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.431.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.431a. Tazkirah, p.23. Akhbār ul-akhyār, pp.161-62.

3. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.431a. Ibid, f.431b.

4. Ibid, f.431b.

Then absolving him from all claims, she gave him permission to start on his spiritual adventure.<sup>1</sup> Mīr Ashraf, then twenty-three, left Samnān for India. His spiritual guide, Hazrat 'Alā ul daula Samnānī, accompanied him on his journey for some miles, then separated from him once and for all after giving him some sound advice.<sup>2</sup> Many of his followers and countrymen accompanied him as far as Samarqand.<sup>3</sup>

He first reached Uch Sharīf where he spent some time in the company of Sayyid Jalāl ud-dīn Bukhārī and obtained many blessings at his hands.<sup>4</sup> Then he reached Dehli where he paid homage to many holy shrines of Chishtiya saints and met many living saints.<sup>5</sup> From there he went to Bihār where at that time Sharif ud-dīn Yahyā Manerī had just expired and Mīr Ashraf was thus able to join his burial prayers.<sup>6</sup> Next he set off in the

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.431b.

2. Ibid, f.431b.

3. Ibid, f.431b.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.431b.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

direction of Bengāl. At Pandua, Shaiḡh 'Alā ul-Haqq and his disciples and followers came out to receive him and, in order to give him a very warm welcome, they took him to the monastery.<sup>1</sup> Hazrat Shaiḡh 'Alā ul-Haqq showed him great affection. One day he took him to his own prayer-cell and taught him all the rules and regulations of the Chishtiya Silsila.<sup>2</sup> Shaiḡh Jahāngīr Samnānī, who was then twenty-seven years of age, prayed and diligently practised the mystic exercises for four years till his Shaiḡh, i.e. 'Alā ul-Haqq, presented him with the Caliphal robe, the same one which had once been offered to him (Shaiḡh 'Alā ul-Haqq) by his Shaiḡh Akhī Sarang.<sup>3</sup> He then appointed him spiritual head of the area of Zafarābād and Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> Mīr Ashraf settled in Kachhuchha, a town quite near to Jaunpūr.<sup>5</sup> For two months he lived there and gained many disciples. After-

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1. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.161. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.371.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, op.cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.432a.

5. Ibid. Kachhuchha lies fifty miles S.E. of Faizābād in the same district.

6. Ibid.

wards he started travelling in and outside India, where he met many other saints, received blessings from them and at the same time won thousands of followers. At Zafarābād he met Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Kabīr.<sup>1</sup> In Jaunpūr he met Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, and Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daulatābādī, and lived there for a few months.<sup>2</sup> This stay at Jaunpūr proved very successful, for he gained there many followers, including some from the royal family. Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn is said to have received Khirqā from him.<sup>3</sup> Then he went to Bihār where he met Shaikh Shams ud-dīn Awadhī at Maner.<sup>4</sup> He also went to Kālpi/ Mahmūdābād where he delivered lectures, extolling the Khilāfāt-i-Rāshidīn, taught the public the basic principles of Islām, and was thus able to overcome the forces of heterodoxy.<sup>5</sup> He made here many disciples and followers.

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Mirāt ul-asrār,

1. Ibid, ff.432-33.
2. Ibid, ff.433b.
3. Ibid, f.433b.
4. Ibid, f.432b.
5. Ibid, f.432b.

It is said that wherever he went he was always accompanied by a good number of followers, including Qalandurs and Faqīrs, and also a good number of horses and camels which were laden with their equipment.<sup>1</sup> Wherever he went, he delivered sermons on Islām and became very popular. He adorned Kachhuchha with gardens and monasteries, and established there an institution of Islamic learning and renamed it Rūhābād.<sup>2</sup> He also went to Arabia on a pilgrimage and on his return journey visited many countries of the Middle East.<sup>3</sup> He went to Baghdād, Najaf, Karblā and Rūm (Turkey) and <sup>in</sup> the latter place he met the successor of Maulānā Rūmī.<sup>4</sup> Then he went to pay homage at Damascus where he met many saints and scholars from Egypt and the Yemen and benefited by their company.<sup>5</sup> He also visited his original country, Samnān.<sup>6</sup> In Mashhad he visited the holy shrine of Hazrat Imām Alī Mūsā

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.432b.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, f.433b.

4. Ibid, f.433b.

5. Ibid, f.433b.

6. Ibid, f.434a.

Rizā and here also met Tīmūr, who had gone there to pay homage.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards he went to Herāt and from there to Māwarā un-Nehar (Transoxiana) where he encountered Khwāja Bahā ud-dīn Naqishbandī. He lived with him for some time and finally received the Khirqā. During his visit to Turkistān he met the sons of Khwāja Ahmad Yasoī.<sup>2</sup> Then via Kabul and Qandhār he reached Ajodhan and then Multān where he paid homage at the shrine of holy saints of the said places.<sup>3</sup> He also went to Dehli, Aj'mer and the Deccan and in the last named he paid homage at the shrine of Hazrat Bandā Nawāz Gasū Darāz.<sup>4</sup> The author of Mirāt ul-asrār writes that he also went to Gujarāt and Sarandīp where he delivered sermons on the subjects of Islām and made many followers.<sup>5</sup> Thus he went from village to village and city to city to preach Islām. These travels have been described in his famous book, Latā'if i-Ashrafī.

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.434b.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.434a.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., f.434b.

He finally spent twelve years in the services of his Pīr, Shaikh 'Alā ul-Haqq Bengālī, and after the death of the latter always paid homage to his son and successor, Hazrat Nūr Qutb ul-'Ālam.<sup>1</sup> Once the Hindus started a discussion at Benāres with Muslim scholars concerning religion in which Mīr Samnānī took a prominent part and convinced them, and it is recorded that thousands of Hindus accepted Islam on this occasion.<sup>2</sup> His Malfūzāts, known as Lataīf-i-Ashrafī, are well-known and shed light on the cultural, religious and social aspects of that period.<sup>3</sup> He attained a great age and died during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, and his shrine at Kachhuchha Sharīf is still visited by thousands of the faithful every year.<sup>4</sup> To his office succeeded his adopted son, Shaikh 'Abdur-Razzāq.

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.434b.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff.434-35.

3. Dr. Riāz ul-Islām, J.P.H.S., III, part III, July 1955, p.208 His letters were collected by some of his students and this book is a sort of combination of the Malfūzat and a biography of the saint.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff.436-37.

Hājī Sayyid 'Abd ur-Razzāq.

Shāikh Samnānī never married.<sup>1</sup> Once in the presence of his Pīr, Shāikh 'Alā ul-Haqq Bengālī, he wished for a son who could continue his work after his death.<sup>2</sup> The Shāikh blessed him and said that he would have an adopted son.<sup>3</sup> The author of Mirāt ul-asrār, mentions on his journey through 'Irāq and Khurāsān, Shāikh Samnānī met one Sayyid Husain 'Abd ul Ghafūr, who belonged to the family of Husainī Sayyids as well as that of Hazrat Ghaus Gīlānī and had married one of the daughters of Shāikh Samnānī's aunts.<sup>4</sup> 'Abdul Ghafūr had a son of twelve years of age. When Shāikh Samnānī saw him, he liked him and adopted him as a son.<sup>5</sup> Then he brought him to Kachhuchha Sharīf, where he brought him up with all care and taught him all the esoteric as well as exoteric subjects and enabled him to become accomplished in all respects.

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.478a.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.478b.

5. Ibid.



After his adopted father's death he succeeded to the spiritual gaddī.<sup>1</sup>

Sayyid 'Abd ur-Razzāq accompanied Shaiḥ Samnānī on many travels and lived with him for sixty-eight years.<sup>2</sup> He was a disciple of his adopted father to whose gaddī he succeeded.<sup>3</sup> He became a saint of a very high order and of many miraculous deeds.<sup>4</sup> He had five sons, who were accomplished saints and scholars and who further carried on Shaiḥ Samnānī's traditions in and around Jaunpūr.<sup>5</sup> Sayyid 'Abd ur-Razzāq died at the age of one hundred and twenty years and was buried in the tomb of Shaiḥ Samnānī.<sup>6</sup>

Makhdūm Bandagī Shāh Lutf Ullah.

He was one of the chief Khalīfas of Shaiḥ Samnānī, and was considered one of his great disciples,

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.478b.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., ff.478.

5. Ibid., f.479a. Their names were Sayyid Shams ud-dīn, Hasan, Husain, Farīd, and Ahmad.

6. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.479a.

who carried on his traditions in the city of Jaunpūr itself.<sup>1</sup> He was a great scholar of theology and had also made a deep study of mysticism.<sup>2</sup> After receiving the Khirqā-ī-Khilāfat from his Shaikh, Sayyid Samnānī, he went to Jaunpūr and lived there permanently.<sup>3</sup> He devoted all his life to prayer and the practice of mysticism and was often to be found in a condition of ecstatic bliss.<sup>4</sup> People often came to pay him homage, but he would never look at them. The date of his death is not known. His tomb lies in Mohalla Hamām Darwāzah behind the gate of Shāh Rahmat Alī.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.55.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

## Section IV.

### Other Mystics in and outside Jaunpūr.

#### Makhdūm Shaikh Muhammad Jaunpūrī.

His father Makhdūm Khizr, was a disciple of Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Multānī, and lived at Dehli.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Muhammad was born and brought up at Dehli, after the invasion of Tīmūr left for Jaunpūr, but instead of living in the town, encamped in a neighbouring jungle.<sup>2</sup> When Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī came to know about him, he invited him through Nasīr ud-dīn Gumbadī to Jaunpūr and provided him accommodation in Mohalla Sipāh.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Muhammad spent most of his time practising his mystic pursuits. He was highly respected by the local people, including Hindus for his miraculous deeds.<sup>4</sup> He died in 918/1512.<sup>5</sup> His shrine stands quite close to the shrine of

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.46.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, pp.46-47.

4. Ibid, Vol.I, pp.47-48.

5. Ibid, Vol.I, p.48.

Hazrat Soḡbras in Mohalla Sipāh.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh 'Usmān Shirāzī Jaunpūrī.

He was originally from Shirāz.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards he migrated to Dehli and from there during the invasion of Tīmūr he came to Jaunpūr, where he was respectfully received by Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> Sayyid 'Usmān was a very learned scholar and had mastered all the exoteric and esoteric subjects.<sup>4</sup> As a mystic he was admired and respected by the local people.<sup>5</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī's two royal nobles, Malik Khālīs and Malik Mukhlīs, were his great devotees. They built for him a mosque which still stands in Darbiya Mohalla and is known by the name of Khālīs Mukhlīs Masjid.<sup>6</sup> His shrine is also near it, while his descendants still live in Darbiya Mohalla.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, vol.I, p.48.

2. Ibid, Vol.I, p.45.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, p.45.

4. Ibid, Vol.I, p.45.

5. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.45.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

Khawāja Sadr Jahān Ajmal.

He was one of the notable Mashāikh of his time. He was also a renowned scholar and had complete command over all the subjects of Shari'a.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm had much faith in him and erected a mosque adjacent to the royal residence for him. This mosque still stands to-day and is known by the name of Jhanjri Masjid.<sup>2</sup> The Khawāja also took part in the politics of his time and was equally esteemed by both high and low for his activities.<sup>3</sup> It is recorded that one night he saw in a dream the holy Prophet and when he got up he found the prints of the former's feet in the place where he had dreamed he was standing. To commemorate this he immediately erected a prayer-cell. Afterwards he built a mosque on that spot, which is known by the name of Qadam Rasūl, and still stands in Mohalla Sipāh of Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> The date of his death is not known. He was buried near his monastery, where his tomb still stands - a place quite near

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Tajallī-ī-Nūr,  
1. Ibid, Vol.I, p.50.

2. Ibid, Vol.I, p.50. For further details, see Chapter VI, pp.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, p.50.

4. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.50.

to the tomb and Bārādarī of one Shahzādah Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>1</sup>  
The latter was one of his devotees.<sup>2</sup>

Makhdūm Sayyid 'Alī Dāu'ūd Jaunpūrī.

His lineage goes back to Sayyid Husain Asghar bin Hazrat Imām Zain ul-'Ābidīn.<sup>3</sup> He was an authority on the exoteric and esoteric subjects. He is considered to have been one of the great holy men of Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> Queen Bībī Rājī, the wife of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, deeply respected him, and built for him a monastery as well as a mosque.<sup>5</sup> This mosque is known by the name of Lāl Darwāzah Masjid - a splendid architectural achievement and now one of the chief mosques in Jaunpūr.<sup>6</sup> To commemorate his name, she also founded a village which still exists and is called Sayyid 'Alī pūr.<sup>7</sup> His two sons,

1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.50.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, Vol.I, p.46.

4. Ibid, Vol.I, p.45.

5. Ibid, Vol.I, pp.45-46.

6. Ibid, Vol.I, p.46. For further details see Chapter VI, pp.

7. Ibid, Vol.I, p.46.

Makhdūm Sayyid Jīr, and Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir, continued the work of their father.<sup>1</sup>

Makhdūm Akhī Rājgirī.

His real name was Jamshēd, but his Pīr, Makhdūm Jahānīān, used to call him affectionately Akhī, so he became known by this name.<sup>2</sup> His birthplace was mouzi<sup>e</sup> Zāhir, one of the dependancies of Daryābād in Awadh.<sup>3</sup> While he was yet young, he felt a spiritual urge and a compelling need to seek out truth. Forsaking everything he went to Makhdūm Jahānīān Jalāl Bukhārī and accepted his discipleship. He lived with him for some years and followed mystic practices according to his Order and finally received Khirqa-ī-Khilāfat.<sup>4</sup> Then Makhdūm Jahānīān appointed him to the spiritual headship of the country of Jaunpūr.<sup>5</sup> He did not, however, relish having to mingle with people, so he went to Kanauj, which too he

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Tajallī-ī-Nūr,

1. Ibid., Vol.I, p.46.

2. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.32b. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.451a.

3. Ibid. Khizinat ul-asfiyā, p.63.

4. Ibid., p.64. Mirāt ul-asrār, op.cit.

5. Ibid.

left for the same reason and settled down in a lonely village in Rājgīr on the banks of the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> Though he preferred a life of solitude, some of his spiritual and miraculous powers attracted thousands of people.<sup>2</sup> Among his followers was Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar, who had sought his blessings for the kingship of Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> Malik Sarwar had much faith in him and often came to Rājgīr to pay him homage.<sup>4</sup> Even men such as Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Amathai, himself a noted saint, paid him high tribute.<sup>5</sup>

His death occurred, in a reputedly miraculous way, in 801/1398 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>6</sup>

Himself a celibate, he had adopted his sister's son, Shaikh Qayām ud-dīn, as his successor.<sup>7</sup> The famous

1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.451a.

2. Ibid.

3. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.451b.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., f.454a - does not mention the year of his death, whereas Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.64 - gives the year.

7. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.454a.



saint, Shaikh Fath Ullah Rājgīrī, is also descended from him.<sup>1</sup> Makhdūm Akhī Rājgīrī's shrine stands in Rājgīr and is visited by thousands of the faithful who go every year to pay him homage every year.<sup>2</sup>

Makhdūm Shaikh Jamāl Gujrī Awadhī.

He was a Khalīfa of Shaikh Muzaffar Balkhī, himself a Khalīfa of Hazrat Yahyā Manerī.<sup>3</sup> When he had received the Khirga his Shaikh ordered him to settle down in the city of Awadh.<sup>4</sup> He was on friendly terms with his contemporaries, Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhī and Shaikh Shāh Musā 'Ashiqīn, a disciple of Makhdūm Chirāghī-Hind.<sup>5</sup> He was also blessed by Shaikh Abdul-Haqq Rudaulvī in whose company he travelled a great deal.<sup>6</sup> Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq observes in his Malfūzāt that the only proper Muslim he came across in his travels from Bhakar

1. Mināt ul-asrār, f.454a.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, f.497a.

4. Ibid, f.497a.

5. Ibid, f.497a.

6. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.43b.

7. Akhbār ul-akhyar, p.185.

to Pandowtah was Shaikh Gujri.<sup>1</sup> He had many disciples among whom Makhdūm Shaikh Bika, a resident of Mouziia Barli, was famous.<sup>2</sup>

Khawāja Ikhtiyār ud-dīn 'Umar Irajī.

The dependency of Iraj in the state of Mahmūdābād/Kālpī, was under the Sharqīs for some time.<sup>3</sup> Here, too, during this period, many saints flourished, two of whom are worth mentioning. One was Khawāja Ikhtiyār ud-dīn and the other was his disciple, Shaikh Yūsuf Budah. Khawāja Ikhtiyār had formerly held a high office in the government of Mahmūdābād/Kālpī, but, overcome by a strong spiritual urge, withdrew himself from all worldly affairs.<sup>4</sup> At

Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.185.

1. I/II. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.497a. The author of Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.185 - mentions that Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq had a bitch, who once bore many puppies. To celebrate this occasion he gave a party to all the great men of the city, but did not invite Shaikh Gujri. When the latter met and demanded an explanation, Shaikh Jamāl told as it had been a party for a bitch, he had invited all the dogs, but as Shaikh Gujri was a man he had excluded him from the company.
2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.497a.
3. For details, see Chapters II and III, pp. and pp. respectively.
4. Tazkirah, p.20. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.454b.

the same time he accepted discipleship under Qāzī Muhammad Sāwī, a renowned teacher, scholar and mystic, and obtained from him the Khirqā-i-Khilāfat.<sup>1</sup> Among his disciples, Shaikh Yūsuf Budah was most prominent. Khwāja Ikhtiyār died in 809/1406 in Iraj where his shrine still stands.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Yūsuf Budah Irajī.

He migrated from Khwārzam to Iraj owing to unfortunate circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Apart from being a disciple of Khwāja Ikhtiyār ud-dīn 'Umar Irajī, he was blessed spiritually by Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī and Shaikh Rājū Qattāl and obtained the Khirqā from them.<sup>4</sup> He was a noted scholar, a prolific writer and at the same time a poet.<sup>5</sup> His greatest work, i.e. his translation of Minhāj ul- 'Ābidīn of Ghazālī, has earned him great

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Mirāt ul-asrar, f.454b.

1. Tazkirah, p.21. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.378.

2. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.454b. Tazkirah, p.21.

3. Ibid., p.256. Mirāt-ul-asrār, f.454b. Khazīnatul-asfiyā, p.383.

4. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.454b. Tazkirah, p.256.

5. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrar, f.454b. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.383.

praise.<sup>1</sup> Malik Behāmid Khānī, the author of Tārikh i-Muhammadi, was one of his disciples. He has recorded Shaikh Yūsuf's fondness for mystic music and how the Shaikh was one day carried into ecstatic raptures on hearing music and died in such a condition in 834/1430.<sup>2</sup>

He was buried in the courtyard of his monastery where later on his tomb was adorned with a grand dome by Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Māndvī.<sup>3</sup> His tomb is visited by thousands of the faithful every year. Makhdūm Shaikh Sarang was one of his chief disciples.<sup>4</sup>

Shāh Dā'ūd Saharpurī.

He is also known by the name of Shāh Dā'ūd Sarmast.<sup>5</sup> He was originally a saint of the Chishtiya Order, but also received the blessings of the Qalandariya

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- Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.383.
1. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.454b. Tazkirah, p.256.
  2. Tazkirah, p.256. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.455a. Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.383.
  3. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.455a. Tazkirah, p.256.
  4. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.455a. Khazinat ul-asfiyā, p.383.
  5. Ibid.

Order and of Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī - a contemporary of his who lived at Jaunpūr.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Dā'ūd received the Khirqā-i-Khilāfat from Shaikh Qutb Minā-ī-Dil Lakhnavī, a renowned saint who was a disciple of Shaikh Sarang.<sup>2</sup> During his long life Shaikh Dā'ūd had some connections with Hazrat Shaikh Rūmī, a Khalīfa of Qutb ul 'Islām Bakhtiyār.<sup>3</sup> Among many Khalīfas, the most notable was Hazrat Shaikh Nūr who lived and died at Tāndah.<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Fathpūrī.

A chief Khalīfa of Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir and a saint of high virtue, he was considered to be unique among his contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> After Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir's death, his grandson, Shaikh 'Abūl Fath Sambras, respected him very much and considered him to be his grandfather. Both were very close friends.<sup>6</sup> At the advent of Tīmūr, both

1. Khāzinat ul-asfiyā, p.383.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, f.446b.

4. Ibid, ff.496-97.

5. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.458a.

6. Ibid, f.458b.

left Dehli. Shaikh Husām ud-dīn reaching Fathpūr, settled there and Abū'l-Fath went to Jaunpūr. Shaikh Husām ud-dīn was also very friendly with Shaikh Akhī Rājgirī, with whom he corresponded.<sup>1</sup> He lived and died during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī,<sup>2</sup> but the date of his death is not known.<sup>3</sup> His shrine at Fathpūr is visited by thousands.<sup>4</sup> His sons were also reputed mystics of their time.<sup>5</sup>

Makhdūm Bandāgī Jalāl ul-Haqq.

Qāzī Khān Nāsihī.

He was born in Zafarābād in 805/1402 where he witnessed the varying fortunes of the Sharqī Sultanate and left numerous traditions behind.<sup>6</sup> He was descended from the family of Hazrat Sultān ut-Tārikīn Ibrāhīm Adham.<sup>7</sup> His grandparents came from Balkh, whence his great-grand-

1. Mirāt ul-Asrār, f.459a.

2. Ibid, f.458b.

3. Ibid, f.458b.

4. Ibid, f.459a.

5. Ibid, f.460b.

6. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.15.

7. Tazkirah, p.166 - mentions his real name as Yūsuf.

father, Qāzī Tāj ud-dīn Nāsihī, had migrated to India and lived in Dehli.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Qāzī Tāj ud-dīn became the disciple of Makhdūm Āftāb ī-Hind whom he accompanied during the campaign of Manaich/Zafarābād. Here he established himself and also rose to the position of a Qāzī (judge).<sup>2</sup> Makhdūm Bandagī Jalāl ul-Haqq's early education supervised by 'Imād ul Mulk, a Wazīr of the Sharqīs who was his mother's grandfather.<sup>3</sup> 'Imād ul Mulk was very fond of him and took great interest in bringing him up, until he was eighteen years old.<sup>4</sup> Then he turned his attention towards mysticism and became the disciple of Hazrat Tāhir Chishtī, who influenced him profoundly.<sup>5</sup> He rose to an eminent position and was considered to be one of the leading Chishtiya saints of his time. He was a saint of profound insight and used to say that after thirty years' mystic practices he could conquer his ego.<sup>6</sup> Later on he became so engrossed in

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.15.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, pp.15-16.

4. Ibid, p.16.

5. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.226. Tazkirah, p.166.

6. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.226. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.17.

his mystic pursuits that he concerned himself no more with the problem of earning a livelihood and finally became bankrupt. Compelled by circumstances, he ultimately wrote to his Pīr about his financial worries, but the latter advised him that whenever such circumstances and sufferings afflicted a man and his family they should believe the following three things:- first, that "My requirements are to be fulfilled only by my God and not by anybody else, because He is neither a different God from me nor am I a different man from Him." Secondly, "you are a human being created by the Almighty, so you should worry neither on your account nor on other's, because He is the Nourisher of all". Thirdly, "If you are poor, the treasure of faith should be sufficient for you and you should not worry unavailingly about anything else." <sup>1</sup>

His greatness can be judged from the fact that his Pīr later on appointed him tutor to his son, 'Abdul 'Azīz, and also the latter's spiritual guide.<sup>2</sup>

The author of Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, mentions that the Emperor Humāyūn, on going to Jaunpūr, desirous of

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.16.

2. Ibid.



obtaining the saint's blessings for his success, six times sought a meeting with him, but was disappointed each time. On Humāyūn's seventh attempt, the Makhdūm granted him audience but declined to accept a land grant from the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> When later this offer was made to his eldest son and successor, Shaikh 'Abdullah, the latter also declined.<sup>2</sup>

He was a contemporary of Mīr 'Alī 'Ashiqān of Sīrā-ī-Mīrī, Makhdūm Shaikh Adhan Jaunpūrī and also of Sayyid Ghiyās ud-dīn Zafarābādī, the one who had succeeded to Makhdūm Aftāb-ī-Hind. These four were firm friends who often discussed matters such as life after death.<sup>3</sup>

He died at an advanced age in 944/

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.227. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.428. Tazkirah, p.186.
  2. Ibid. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.227. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.428.
  3. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.17 - mentions that one day during a discussion they promised one another that whosoever was the first to die should enlighten the others on the nature of life after death. It happened that Makhdūm Qāzī Nāsihī expired first, and afterwards the other three visited his grave. Tradition has it that miraculously they found a piece of paper upon which was written the following verse of Hāfiz Shirāzī. \

1537.<sup>1</sup> His shrine stands in Zafarābād where his 'Urs  
is celebrated every year.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.18. Akhbār ul-akhyār, Khazinat ul-asfiya and Tazkirah mention 970/1562, which does not coincide with the circumstances.

2. ibid

## Section V.

### The Sābiriya Order.

The Sābiriya Order is a sub-branch of the Chishtiya Order. It was founded by Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir, one of the chief disciples of Shaikh Bābā Farīd Shakar Ganj and a contemporary of Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliya.<sup>1</sup> Contemporary records are mostly silent about its founder, Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir, and the early history of the Order. There are a few lines written in Siyār ul-Auliya about 'Alī Ahmad Sābir; even these have not been considered as authentic by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Muhaddīs, the author of Akhbār ul-akhyār.<sup>2</sup> The only relevant material is found in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Tazkirahs which are not altogether reliable.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of the material available, it seems that Bābā Farīd Shakar Ganj's two disciples, Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliya, and Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir, split the Chishtiya Order into different branches.<sup>4</sup> One was

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1. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.167.

2. Ibid; p.215. Siyār ul Auliya, ff.185. Akhbār ul akhyār, p.96.

3. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.215.

4. Ibid, pp. 166-67.

Nizamiya, named after Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliya, and the other Sābiriya, named after Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir after receiving the mantle of spirituality from his Pīr, Bābā Farīd, had settled in Kaliar Sharīf. The traditions of this Order were carried on by Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir's successor and chief Khalīfa, Shaikh Shams ud-dīn Turk, a descendant of Khawāja Ahmad Yaswī.<sup>2</sup> He had migrated from Turkistan to Dehli, where he first served for some time in the army of Sultān Ghiyās ud-dīn Balban.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Shams ud-dīn Turk afterwards became a disciple of Shaikh 'Alī Ahmad Sābir and, after receiving the Khirqā, was asked to settle at Pānīpat, where for a good number of years he carried on Sabiriya traditions.<sup>4</sup>

He was succeeded by Jamāl ud-dīn Pānīpatī, who became a renowned saint of his time and left many

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1. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chisht, pp. 166-67.

2. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chisht, pp. 215-16.

3. Ibid, p. 216.

4. Ibid, p. 216.

disciples.<sup>1</sup> But the person who made this Order most popular and established its rich traditions firmly was Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq Radaulvī, one of the chief Khalīfas of Shaikh Jamāl ud-dīn Pānīpatī. Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq Radaulvī belonged to the Sharqī period.<sup>2</sup> After receiving the Khirqā-i-Khilāfat he established a monastery at Radaulī, a town in the Bāra Bānkī district in the Sharqī Kingdom. Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq, being a close student of various mystics of his time, enabled him to establish his organisation at Radaulvī on a sound footing, and more efficiently in many respects, than that of Nizāmiya.<sup>2</sup> Soon his monastery became an important centre in Northern India to which many mystics were attracted and where they learned his mystic system.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq Radaulvī's Malfūzāt, called Anwār ul-Uyūn, were collected by his disciple, Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddūs Gangohī. They

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1. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.216.

2. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.217. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.183 - he met at Pandua Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul-'ālam and was greatly blessed by him.

3. Ibid, p.217.

throw light on his life and work.<sup>1</sup> In the following pages an attempt will be made to write a brief account of him and his successors and their works, who carried on this Order during the reign of the Sharqīs.

The Sābiriya Mystics of Rudaulī Sharīf.

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul-Haqq Rudaulvi.

He is one of the greatest saints of the Sharqī period and established an independent school of mystics in Rudaulī, as has been mentioned before, from where his successors and disciples continued his tradition. He was a descendant of the family of Hazrat 'Umar Fārūq. Owing to the invasion of the Mongols, his grandfather, Shaikh Dā'ūd, had migrated from Balkh to Dehli during the reign of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī, and had joined government service under the said Sultān in Awadh.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Dā'ūd was a disciple of Shaikh Nasīr ud-din Awadhī and a saint of high virtues.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul-Haqq's father, Shaikh 'Umar

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1. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.217.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.465a.

3. Ibid.

was also a holy man. Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq was born in Rudaulī, and since his childhood had been a lad of spiritual pursuits. His mother, though a holy woman, did not want him to take so much interest in mysticism at such an early age, fearing this would be too strenuous and would affect his health.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq, did not like her to control him in this respect, so he left home when he was only twelve years and went to Dehli where one of his elder brothers, Shaikh Tāqī, was living.<sup>2</sup> His brother took an interest in his education and tried to send him to a madresa, but Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ul-Haqq refused to attend the classes and told his brother to learn Tasawwaf.<sup>3</sup> His brother, however, took him to some learned teachers and insisted that they should teach him exoteric subjects, but after some time he again rebelled against this external control.<sup>4</sup> Then his brother wanted him to get married,

1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.182.

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.465a. Akhbar ul-akhyār, p.182.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.384. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff. 465-66.

but he himself went to his would-be parents-in-law and refused to do so.<sup>1</sup> Leaving Dehli he now went to Shaikh Jamāl ud-dīn Panīpatī, accepted his discipleship and received from him the mantle of spirituality.<sup>2</sup> The latter also appointed him tutor to his children.<sup>3</sup>

During the invasion of Tīmūr he left Panīpat and went to Bhakkar.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards he travelled to Bihār and Bengāl where he met Shaikh 'Alā ud-dīn and Shaikh Nūr Qutb ul 'Ālam, both of whom blessed him.<sup>5</sup> Then he went to Awadh where he met Shaikh Fath Ullah Awadhī, but he did not approve of the latter's mystic practices.<sup>6</sup> It is said that he was very friendly with Shaikh Jamāl Gujrī, who also accompanied him on his travels to many different places in that part of the country.<sup>7</sup> Finally he settled

1. Akhabār ul-akhyār, p.182.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.384. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff. 465-66. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.216.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.466a.

5. Ibid., ff.466. Akhabār ul-akhyār, p.183.

6. Ibid.

7. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.467a.



down in his native town where he established his mystical pursuits and had many followers.

Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had great regard for him. The author of Mirāt ul-asrār mentions that once Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī visited Rudaulī in connection with some function and was told there by Qāzī Rājī, the officer of the city of Awadh, about the saintly virtues of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ul-Haqq.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm was much pleased to know about him and he donated through the Qāzī some money and a good number of acres of land for the expenses of the saint's monastery. Shaikh Ahmad refused to accept these gifts, however, saying that God, and not Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, is the One who fulfils the needs of all.<sup>2</sup> He spent his whole life absorbed completely in his spiritual pursuits. It is said that he never looked around and used to walk keeping his head down.<sup>3</sup> The author of Akhbār ul-akhyār mentions that for forty to fifty years he used to walk to the Jāmi' Masjid, following the sound of "Haqq Haqq", announced by some of his disciples but

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.470a.

2. Ibid, f.470a.

3. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.184.

never knew where the mosque was situated.<sup>1</sup> It was the common practice of his disciples to say "Haqq Haqq" instead of "Asslām o-Alaikum" at the time of seeing each other. They acted likewise during their meals, as well as on other occasions.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ul-Haqq believed that the word "Haqq" was the most significant for conveying all the attributes of God.<sup>3</sup> His disciples also used to practice "Haqq Haqq" at the time of Zikr.<sup>4</sup> Tradition has it, that some of his disciples even recited "Haqq Haqq" instead of the Muslim creed on their deathbed.<sup>5</sup> He used to say that Sūfī Mansūr, the famous mystic, could not keep the secret of God and thus proved himself a child, but there were some men who drank a sea of the virtues of God, but never hiccupped.<sup>6</sup> He also said that as the companions of the Holy Prophet secured affection and benevolence, in the same manner the later believers could receive those gifts by following the right path of Islām.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.387. Akhhār ul-akhyār, p.184.

2. Ibid. Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, p.384.

3. Akhhār ul-akhyār, p.184.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.470b.

7. Akhhār ul-akhyār, p.184.

He was very fond of mystical music.<sup>1</sup>

He attained a very long life and died in 837/1433, during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and was buried in his native town Rudaulī, where his shrine is now visited by thousands.<sup>2</sup> He had many disciples of whom Shaikh Bakhtiyār was the best known.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Ahmad was succeeded by his son, Shaikh 'Ārif, who, like his father, was a saint of great virtues and preached mysticism for about fifty years in that part of the country.<sup>4</sup> During his last years he handed over his charge to his son, Shaikh Muhammad, and he himself retired in solitude.<sup>5</sup>

#### Shaikh Muhammad Rudaulī.

Shaikh Muhammad, like his father Shaikh 'Ārif, was also an accomplished saint.<sup>6</sup> The author of Lata'if

1. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff.470a-b. Shaikh

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, ff. 472-73. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.217

3. Akḥbār ul-akhyār, p.185.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.473a.

5. Ibid. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.218.

6. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.473a.

i-Quddūsī mentions that when he was on the verge of death he called his son, Shaikh Auliya, who is also known by the name of Shaikh Budah, and handed over to him the heritage of his ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Budah was a successful mystic leader, and during his life of one hundred and twenty years, he made the Sābirīya Order very popular in Northern India.<sup>2</sup> He had many disciples among whom Makhdūm Shaikh 'Abd ur-Rehman Qidwāī was pre-eminent.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh 'Abd ul-Quddūs Gangohī.

His father's name was Ismā'il.<sup>4</sup> He was brought up under the benevolence of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ul-Haqq Rudaulwī, but became a disciple of his grandson, Shaikh Muhammad.<sup>5</sup>

He was married to the sister of his Shaikh.<sup>6</sup>

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Mirāt ul-asrār, f.473a.

1. Ibid. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.218.

2. Ibid. Mirāt al-asrār, f.473b.

3. Ibid.

4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.481a.

5. Ibid, f.481b.

6. Ibid, f.418b. Akḥbār ul-asfiyā, f.48b. Sayyid Nūr ul-Hasan, M.I.Q. vol.I, July, 1950, p.49.

He was one of the great saints of the Sābiriya Order.<sup>1</sup>

'Umar Khān, one of the chief nobles of Sultān Sikanadar Lodī and Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, had much faith in him and persuaded him to migrate from Rudaulī in 1490/91 A.D. to Shāhābād in the neighbourhood of Dehli, where he lived afterwards for about thirty-eight years during the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī and Ibrāhīm Lodī.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar Lodī had a high regard for him and Shaikh Gangohī also corresponded with him.<sup>3</sup>

Shaikh Abu'l-Fazāl in his Tazkirah-i-Auliya i-Hind, mentions that Humayūn had a high regard for Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddūs and often visited him to discuss spiritual problems.

Shaikh 'Abdul-Quddūs was a learned scholar and a prolific writer. His writings show a great depth of knowledge and scholarship. He translated 'Awārif and wrote a commentary on Fusus al Hakum.<sup>4</sup> His other books are Risāla-i-Quddūsiya, Gharāib ul-Fawaid, Rashad Nāma,

1. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, pp.216-18.

2. Ibid, p.218. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.482b.

3. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.220. Makhtubāt-i-Qūddusī, pp.44-46.

4. Tārīkh Mashāikh i-Chisht, p.221.

and Mazhar ul-'Ajā'ib, in which he stressed mainly the philosophy of Wahdat ul-Wujūd.<sup>1</sup> His book, Rashād Nāma, shows that he had a good command of the Hīndī language as well, and that is the reason that one finds a good number of Hīndī couplets in his writings.<sup>2</sup> He wrote didactic letters to contemporary nobles. He earned a great name for this Order and made it popular.

He had very many disciples among whom Shāh Jalāl Thānesrī, his chief Khalīfa, was a great saint as well as learned scholar.<sup>3</sup> He had three sons, Shaikh Hamid ud-dīn, Shaikh 'Abdul-Hamīd and Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn. The last name was famous. His grandson, Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabī, son of Shaikh Ahmad, was Sadr un-Sadūr of <sup>Bur</sup>Ahbār.<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Qūddūs in the later part of his life, lived at Ganjoh for about fourteen years, and died there

1. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh i-Chisht, p.221.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.223. His other Khalīfas were Shaikh 'Abdul-Ghafur 'Azampūrī, Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz Kirānvī, Shaikh 'Abdul-Sattār Sahāranpurī, and Shaikh Ahmad, father of Hazrat Mujaddid Alaf Sānī.

4. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh-i-Chisht, p.222.

in 1537 A.D.<sup>1</sup> His shrine is an attraction for thousands.

Shaikh Bakhtiyār.

He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul-Haqq Rudaulī, who had accompanied him on all his travels.<sup>2</sup> He was the slave of a jeweller, with whom he had once visited Rudaulī.<sup>3</sup> There he became a follower of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq.<sup>4</sup> He lived at Rudaulī for six months and practised mystic disciplines.<sup>5</sup> He was always found absorbed in spiritual love.<sup>6</sup> He was afterwards allowed to go back to Jaunpūr and join his master, the jeweller, but the latter released him from his service in order that he might lead a life dedicated to the spirit.<sup>7</sup> Though he was illiterate, he could discuss the subject of spirituality with scholars of mysticism.<sup>8</sup> He never deviated from Qurānic education as well as that of Sunnah.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Tārīkh Mashā'ikh i-Chisht, o.218.  
218. Mirat ul-asrar, f.483a.

2. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.185.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, pp. 185-86.

6. Ibid, p.185.

7. Ibid, p.186.

8. Ibid, p.186.

## Section VI.

### The Qalandariya Order.

Members of this Order are distinguished from others by their shaven heads, and by the fact that they wear no moustaches and beards.<sup>1</sup> They generally wear one long shirt and also ear-rings.<sup>2</sup> They travel about mostly without shoes, and practise severest acts of austerity and sometimes live in a state of ecstasy.<sup>3</sup> Even to-day in northern India and Pakistān one finds such Faqīrs and begging monks known as Qalandars.

As for their origin, it is said that this Order was founded by Khizr Rūmī, a disciple of 'Abdul-'Azīz Makki.<sup>4</sup> Khizr Rūmī visited India and met Shaikh Qutb ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.<sup>5</sup> In India this Order was established by Sayyid Nizām ud-dīn Ghaus ul-Dahr, who was at

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III - No.2, December, 1963, p.77.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.



first a disciple of Hazrat Nizām ud-dīn Auliya, and then of Khizir Rūmī.<sup>1</sup> According to John A. Sobhān his death occurred in 1432 A.D. at Māndū, but other authorities are not certain about this.<sup>2</sup> One finds references, however, to this Order even in the Khaljī period.

One of the great mystics of this Order was Shaikh Sharafud-dīn Qalandar Pānīpatī, who was attached to Shaikh Qutb ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.<sup>3</sup> Another great mystic and leader of this Order was Shaikh Abū Bukr Tūsī, a contemporary of Jamāl ud-dīn Hānswī and Nizām ud-dīn Auliya.<sup>4</sup> Yet another member of this Order was Sīdī Maulā who flourished in the reign of Jalāl ud-dīn Firūz Khaljī, but was executed on suspicions of political ambition.<sup>5</sup>

During the period of the Sharqīs, there were only four notable Qalandars, i.e. Shaikh Qutb ud-dīn Bīnā ī-Dīh, Shaikh Muhammad Qutb, Shaikh 'Abdus-Salām and Shaikh Nasīr ud-dīn, whose biographical notices are given.

1. Al-Halim, J.A.S.P. Vol.III, No.2, December, 1963, p.77.

2. John A. Sobhān, Sufiism, etc., p.310.

3. Jarrett, Ā'in, Vol.III, p.410. Farikh-i-Haqqi, ff.120. His memoirs on the topic of mystic love and his Hukm Nāma have been referred to in Akhbār ul-akhyār.

4. Akhbār ul-akhyār,

5. Tabaqāt, Vol.I, p.127.

The Qalandars of Jaunpūr.

Makhdūm Qutb ud-dīn Bīnā ī-Dīk Qalandar.

He was born blind, but his heart was endowed with spiritual light and, on account of this, he became known as Shaikh Bīnā ī-Dīk, i.e. one who can see by means of his heart.<sup>1</sup> He was a disciple of Sayyid Nizām ud-dīn Ghaus ul-Dahr. In addition he had also received the blessings of Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Bīnā ī-Dīk spent most of his time praying and practising his mystic disciplines. He was a saint to whom many miraculous deeds are attributed, and was highly respected by the people. It is recorded that once at an assembly he bade one of his disciples recite Qasīdah Burdah.<sup>3</sup> On listening to its recitation, he became transported into an ecstasy, which deeply affected the onlookers, some of whom were able to share it.<sup>4</sup> He died on 25th Shā'bān 880/1475 and was buried in the Mohalla Jugiyāpur, which is also

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.63.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.64.

4. Ibid, p.64.

known as Alanpur as well as Shaikhpūr.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Qutb Qalandar.

He was a son and disciple of Shaikh Bīnā ī-Dīl.<sup>2</sup> He was a saint of great intellect and was credited with possessing supernatural powers.<sup>3</sup> He was originally an adherent of the philosophy of Shaikh Muhiyy ud-dīn Ibn ul-Arabī and took a keen interest in the masalah-i-tauhid, i.e. problem of the unity of God.<sup>4</sup> He had profound insight into this and knew how to impart this understanding to others.<sup>5</sup> He also used to say that his saintliness depended mainly upon two things, one his virtuous conduct and refined manners, and the other regard for the holy Prophets and the latter's family and descendants.<sup>6</sup> He died on Zīqā'dah, but the year of his death is not known.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.65.

2. Ibid, p.65.

3. Ibid, p.65.

4. Tajallī ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.65.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

He was buried at the back of his father's shrine.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Nasir ud-din Qalandar.

He was the disciple and nephew as well as the son-in-law of Shaikh Qutb ud-din Bina i-Dik.<sup>2</sup> He first secured the Khirga i-Khilafat of the Qalandariya Order from Hazrat Bina i-Dik, but afterwards joined the Malamatiya Order and took a keen interest in its activities.<sup>3</sup> He practised mysticism and prayed according to the rules of that Order so intensely that he achieved the highest spiritual ranks in that respect, such as Shaikh ul-Shayukh and Qutb ul-Aqtab of his time.<sup>4</sup> Later on following the order of his Pir, he left Jaunpur and settled in the town of Negu in the dependency of Mahal in the Jaunpur district, where he died in 915/1509.<sup>5</sup>

Hazrat Shah Nur of Suhurpuri in the district of Faizabad was his eldest son and disciple, and a well-known

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1. Tajalli i-Nur, Vol.I, p.65.

2. Ibid, pp. 65-66.

3. Ibid, p.66.

4. Ibid, p.66.

5. Tajalli i-Nur, Vol.I, p.66.

saint.<sup>1</sup> His descendants still live in Mohalla Chatar Sarāī in Jaunpūr, as well as in the town of Negū, in Nūrpur, Hāfizpūr and Kachhūchhā.<sup>2</sup>

Shāh 'Abd us-Salam Qalandar.

He is also known by the name of Shāikh 'Alan Qalandar.<sup>3</sup> He was the son and disciple of Shāikh Qutb, and also received the blessings of his grandfather, Shāikh Bīnā ī-Dīl, as well as of the Suhrwardiya Order from Shāikh Adham Zafarābādī, the successor of Makhdūm Chiragh-i-Hind.<sup>4</sup> Shāh 'Abd us-Salām was a great scholar of his time at Jaunpūr. He was also an author and in this respect his short commentary on Al-Waqā'iya in Arabic is well known.<sup>5</sup> He stood out among his contemporaries for his holiness.<sup>6</sup> He was survived by many disciples, among whom Shāikh 'Abdur Rehman Lāhir-purī and Shāikh Mahmūd Lakhnawī are note-

1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.66.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, pp.66-67.

5. Ibid, p.67.

6. Ibid, p.67.

worthy.<sup>1</sup>

Shāh 'Abdul-Quddūs, a grandson of Shaiḫ Bīnā ī-Dīl, was another renowned saint of this Order, who attained the age of one hundred and fifty years and died in 1052/1642.<sup>2</sup> Shāh Abdus Salām, died on 14th Jamādī II, the year of his death is not known.<sup>3</sup> He was buried in Jugiya Mohalla, also known by the name of Alanpūr, and was buried near the grave of his grandfather, i.e. Shaiḫ Bīnā ī-Dīl.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Taḥallī fī Nūr, Vol.I, p.67.

2. Ibid, pp.67-68.

3. Ibid, p.66.

4. Ibid, p.66.

## SECTION VII.

### The Madāriya Order.

This Order was founded during the period of the Sharqīs. Its followers, commonly known as Chelas of Shāh Madār, are scattered in different parts of India and Pakistan to-day. Fire-walking is one of their peculiarities. To the accompaniment of drum-beating, they walk through fire, shouting "Dam Madār" (the breath of Madār, i.e. Shāh Madār.)<sup>1</sup> Some consider that the Madāriyas are the disciples of Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, who is supposed to have met with a tragic death on his wedding day, and lies buried in Bahraich.<sup>2</sup> But the fact is that the Madāriyas are the disciples of Shāh Badi 'ud-dīn Madār, who came to India, after long travels necessary for mystics, and settled at Makhanpūr during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> Shāh Madār has become almost a legendary figure about whom not much is known with exactitude. The Mirāt - i-Madāriya, composed by his disciples, is the

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1. A. Halim, J.A.S.P., Vol.III, No.2, 1963, p.76.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

only detailed book on his life, but the work is essentially hagiological and has little historical value.

The Madāriyas of Makhanpūr and Jaunpūr.

Shāh Badī'ud-dīn Madār.

His father Shaikh 'Alī Halbī was of Jewish descent. Shāh Madār was born in Syria.<sup>1</sup> He was a great scholar of exoteric as well as esoteric subjects and is said to have committed to his memory all the holy books such as the Torah and the Bible.<sup>2</sup> He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Taifūrī.<sup>3</sup> Before migrating to India he had widely travelled in the Middle-Eastern countries and had lived quite a good number of years in Makka, Madīna and Najaf, mostly for his studies.<sup>4</sup> In India his first halt was Gujarāt from where he went to Shaikh Mu'īn ud-dīn Ajmerī Chishti's shrine at Ajmer.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, ff.3. Safinat ul-auliya, p.187, that his lineage can be traced to the holy Prophet. Also see Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.160.

2. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, f.34b.

3. Mirāt i-Madāriyā, ff.4-5.

4. Ibid, ff.5-6.

5. Ibid, f.13h.



On his way to Jaunpūr he passed through Kanauj, where he met Shaikh Akhī Rājgīrī, who paid him all respects.<sup>1</sup> He finally settled down at Makhanpūr where Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī helped him to establish a monastery and he started there preaching and practising his mystic pursuits.<sup>2</sup> His reputation spread far and wide and very soon a good number of people accepted his discipleship. He then made preaching tours to Jaunpūr, Lucknow, Kālpi, as well as other towns of the Awadh country and was able to win and influence saints and scholars such as Qāzi Shihāb ud-dīn Qidwāī, Shaikh Qayām ud-dīn Lakhanavī, Qāzī Mathar Shaikh Mīnā Lakhanavī, and Qāzī Mahmūd Kontūrī.<sup>3</sup> At Jaunpūr, Shāh Madār became well-known among the people and many such as Mīr Sayyid Sadr Jahān Ajmal, Qāzī Shihāb ud-dīn Daultatābādī and Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī were greatly influenced by him through discussions.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, f.17b. It is said that the two also corresponded. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, op.cit.

2. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, op.cit.

3. Akhbār ul-asfiyā, ff.34-35. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, ff.17-31.

4. Ibid, f.21.

It is said that Shāh Madār was extremely handsome and his face always shone with such spiritual light that he used to wear a black veil to hide it from the public.<sup>1</sup> Shāh Madār's preaching tours and his reputation as a saint of high virtues attracted thousands and he preached his way of mysticism. It is said that he never wore rich garments. Although he was in the habit of being aloof from the people, they used to throng at his monastery every Monday in order to collect dates. On such occasions he used to relate them a story through which those who sought advice received their answer.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have attained to the great age of 125 years.<sup>3</sup> He died in 844/1440 during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and was buried at Makhanpūr, where his shrine was later built by an unknown son of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī - the one who was a disciple of Sadr Jahān Ajmal.<sup>4</sup> This shrine now stands on a beautiful site at Makhanpur where

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Madāriya, f.14a.

1. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, f.14a. Safinat ul-ʿarīfīn, f.71a.

2. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, f.31.

3. Ibid, f.33.

4. Safinat ul-ʿarīfīn, f.71a. Mirāt i-Madāriya, ff.35-36.

thousands go to celebrate his annual feast, ('Urs).<sup>1</sup>

The author of Mirāt i-Madāriya, mentions that Shāh Madār trained seventy chief Khalīfas amongst whom there were Hazrat Shaikh 'Abd ur-Rehmān Qidwāī, Shāh 'Ālam Madārī, Misān Shāh Madārī, Shāh Mitā Madārī, Qāzī Mahmūd Kantūrī and Shaikh Mīnā who were all saints of miraculous deeds and who popularized the Madāriya Order throughout India.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Sadr ud-dīn Sābat Mādārī.

He was the first person who came into contact with Shāh Madār during the latter's visit to Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Sābat learned from Shāh Madār all the subjects relating to Shari'ah as well as mysticism, and also received from him the Khirqa.<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Sābat hovered on the verge of madness and spent his whole life wandering in deserts and jungles.<sup>5</sup> In the end he came to Jaunpūr, where he died and was buried under the same dome as that

1. Mirāt-i-Madāriya, ff.34b.

2. Ibid, ff.31. Siyar ul-auliya, f.217b.

3. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.61.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, p.62.

of his Pīr.<sup>1</sup> He is considered to be one of the outstanding mystics of the Madāriya Order.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Fakhr ud-dīn Madārī.

He was a son and disciple of Shaikh Sābat Madārī and had joined this Order while he had been quite young.<sup>3</sup> He was a mystic of high virtue and a man of great patience and perseverance who faced his troubles with a smiling face all his life.<sup>4</sup> He was a man with a great capacity for love and regarded all men with equal love, whether they were religious or otherwise.<sup>5</sup> He attained a great age and died in Jaunpūr in 942/1535 and was buried under the same dome as that of his father.<sup>6</sup> His son and successor, Fazl Ullah Madārī, carried on his tradition in Jaunpūr, where he died in 976/1568.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.62.

2. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.62.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, pp. 62-63.

### Section VIII.

#### The Shattārī Order.

This Order is traced back to Shaikh Bayazīd Taifūr Bustāmī,<sup>1</sup> (752-845 A.D.), who believed that rapture was superior to 'sobriety'.<sup>2</sup> He often went in- to raptures in his contemplation of Absolute Truth. Thus his cult of love became known as Tarīqa i-'Ishaqiya,<sup>3</sup> and afterwards was called after the name of its founder as Taifuriya or Bustamiya.<sup>4</sup> In India this Order was introduced by Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī, a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Suhrwardī.<sup>5</sup> Shāh 'Abdullah was the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif,<sup>Taufurī</sup> who afterwards mi- grated from Persia to India and first settled in Jaunpūr. In India this Order became known after his name, Shattārī.

The word Shattārī is derived from the Arabic root, 'Shatr', which means to move in a certain direction.

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1. K.A. Nizāmī, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.2, October, 1950, p.56.

2. Kashful-Mahjūb, p.254.

3. K.A. Nizāmī, M.I.Q., op.cit.

4. Āīn ī-Akbarī, Vol.II, p.203.

5. K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., pp.56-57.

Therefore the meaning of 'Shattar' would be 'one who moves quickly'. The Shattāris gave to the word 'Shattar' the meaning of 'one who is too quick and eager to attain the vision of God.'<sup>1</sup> According to Shāh 'Abdullah there are three different methods of spiritual training, Akhyār, Abrār and Shattar, of which the last, the Sulūk-i-Shattāri, is the quickest.<sup>2</sup>

Shāh 'Abdullah had many disciples, among whom Shaikh Hāfiz Jaunpurī, and Shaikh Qāzin Bengālī were eminent. Their disciples such as Shaikh Burhām, Shaikh Walī, Shaikh Bahā'ud-dīn, Shaikh Abū'l Fath Sarmast, Shaikh Zahūr Hajī, and Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus continued the traditions of this Order and made it very popular in different parts of India till the rise of the Naqshbandiya Order. A short history of this Order and of the works of its chief saints is as follows.

### The Shattāris of Jaunpūr and their Activities in and outside Jaunpūr.

#### Shāh 'Abdullah Shattāri.

As mentioned before Shāh 'Abdullah was the founder

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1. K.A., Nizāmī, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.2, October, 1950, p.57.

2. Ibid, p.57.

of this Order in India. His father's name was Shaikh Bahlūl Sindhīlī, a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb ud-dīn Suhrwardī.<sup>1</sup> Shāh 'Abdullah was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Taifūrī, who sent him to India, Shāh 'Abdullah was a rich saint who lived with great pomp and possessed both external and spiritual greatness.<sup>2</sup> Before coming to India he had travelled widely in Muslim countries and had met many famous saints of his time. In India he had the pleasure of meeting Sayyid Jahāngīr Samnānī and Shaikh Husām ud-dīn Mānikpūrī.<sup>3</sup> He differed in some respects from the saints of other Orders, Whereas others considered itinerancy a part of their spiritual education, he travelled to show others the 'path of God'. He was fond of travelling with great pomp and show. He used to wear royal dress while his disciples who accompanied him wore military uniforms, and thus his army of followers used to march from place to place with banners and drums.<sup>4</sup> He made a tour of various parts of this country, visiting

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1. Akḥbār ul-asfiyā, ff.40-41. Tazkirah, p.103. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.494b.

2. Ibid. Akḥbār ul-akhyār, p.171.

3. Tārīkh Mashāikh-i-Chisht, p.57.

4. K.A. Nizami, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.2, 1950, p.57.

many villages and towns. To the beat of drums, he would in the course of his progress call out "Is there any one who wishes to be shown the way of God?"<sup>1</sup>

On reaching India, he settled in Jaunpūr, where in those days Sultān Ibrāhīm Shārqī was the ruler. He achieved great success there and made many followers among whom the most distinguished were Shāikh Muhammad Ma'rūf and Shāikh Qā'z Manerī.<sup>2</sup> Once Sultān Ibrāhīm, on hearing his trumpets, was surprised and thought his announcements savoured of pedantry. One day Sultān Ibrāhīm went to see him and asked him to be instructed in his way. But Shāh 'Abdullah refused, saying that spiritually he was not up to the mark. As the Sultān did not appreciate his method of preaching, this annoyed Shāh 'Abdullah and he left for Māndū in disgust.<sup>3</sup> We

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.171. The author of Gulzai-i-Abrār writes that he used to announce that "If any one knows the meaning of Kalima-i-Tauhid (Islamic Formula of faith) better than myself, he should teach it, to me; if not, he should learn it from me."

2. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.495b.

3. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.495b.



do not find any details among the accounts of hagiologists about this unpleasant episode. Probably the military outfit of Shāh 'Abdullah's disciples created suspicion in the mind of the Sharqī ruler. He may thus have thought that to allow a semi-military group to settle in Jaunpūr was a danger which he was apparently not prepared to risk.

Leaving Jaunpūr Shāh 'Abdullah went to Chittor where at that time Sultān Ghiyās ud-din Khalīfī was besieging the fortress.<sup>1</sup> He blessed the Sultān's forces and remained with him till the capture of the fortress. This pleased the Khalīfī Sultān very much. Shāh 'Abdullah was accorded much respect and was afterwards sent to Māndū, before the Sultān's victorious armies returned to the capital.<sup>2</sup> Shāh 'Abdullah established personal relations with the ruler and even dedicated to him his famous book Lata'if-i-Ghaibiya.<sup>3</sup> Shah 'Abdullah had great success in his mission and, apart from preaching, wrote many books and treatises such as Sirāj ul-Salikīn,

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.495b.

2. K.A. Nizami, op.cit., p.61.

3. Ibid.

Anīs ul Musāfirīn, Asrār ul-Da'wāt, Kanzul-Asrār, Ashkāl-i-Shattāriya, and a commentary on Risāla-i-Ghausia.<sup>1</sup> He attained a great age and died in 890/1485.<sup>2</sup>

Shāh 'Abdullah reached India when the Sultanate of Dehli was fast disintegrating and there was widespread religious stir in the whole country. It was no mean achievement to establish a new Order where already two Orders, i.e. Suhrwardiya and Chishtiya, had collapsed. It required a leader of exceptional organizing capacity, such as Shāh 'Abdullah, to attract to the new Order scholars and saints in large numbers. No doubt Shāh 'Abdullah achieved a great success. The subsequent history of this Order is traced below.

#### Shah 'Abdullah's Disciples and the Later History of the Shattariya.

Shāh 'Abdullah had many disciples, among whom Shaikh Muhammad 'Alā, popularly known as Qāzīn Bengālī, the founder of the Bengālī branch of this Order, and Shaikh

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1. Tazkirah, p.103.

2. Ibid. The author of Mirāt ul-asrār, f.495b, mentions that Jahāngīr once visited Shāh 'Abdullah's grave, and ordered through a notable Shattārī saint Shāh Pīr to erect a tomb on it.

Hāfiz Jaunpūrī, who further consolidated this Order. He was fortunate enough to have an able disciple in Shaikh Burhām, who was a contemporary of Sultān Husain Sharqī and Sultān Sikandar Lodī, and who popularised this Order in Northern India.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Rizq Ullah Mushtāqī, the famous author of Waqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī, and uncle of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haqq Muhaddis Dehlwī, also sat at his feet and learnt spiritual practices.<sup>2</sup>

Shaikh Burhām was succeeded by another capable Khalīfa, Shaikh Walī of Badolī, who sent his disciples, Shaikh Fiddan, Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn and Shaikh Hājī to distant parts of the country to teach the doctrines of the Shattari/<sup>ya</sup>silsila. Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn wrote an interesting treatise, i.e. Risāla-i-Shattāriya, explaining the principles of this Order. The work became popular and was avidly read even during the Mughul period. Shaikh Bahā ud-dīn's disciple, Sayyid Ibrāhim Irajī, was another celebrated saint of this Order.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Akhbār ul-akhyār, p.195.

2. Ibid.

3. K.A. Nizami, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.2, October, 1950, p.58.

The Bengālī branch of this silsila fared well under the leadership of Shaikh Qazin Bengālī, a saint of wide fame, and a distinguished scholar. His disciple and son, Shaikh Abū'l Fath Hidāyat Ullah Sarmast, played a distinguished part in spreading this silsila.<sup>1</sup> His Khalīfa, Shaikh Zahūr Hājī,<sup>2</sup> admitted to his discipleship Shaikh Bahlūl<sup>3</sup> and his brother, Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus of Gawāliar.<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus was the most celebrated figure in the Shattārī silsila. His disciple, Muhammad Ghausī, the author of Gulzār-i-Absār, rightly observes that Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus was the person who nursed the Shattāriya babe and brought it to manhood.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.496b. His son, Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn continued his work. Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn was a highly accomplished saint. His Khalīfa, Shaikh Kamāl ud-dīn Sulaiman, was a teacher of Ghausī.
  2. Ibid. His real name was Shāh Hāmid.
  3. Humāyūn had great affection of Shaikh Bahlūl. When Mirza Hindāl revolted in 945/1538, he was sent to advise him, but was murdered by the former's men. See K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., p.62.
  4. Mirāt ul-asrār, f.496b.
  5. Ibid. K.A. Nizāmī, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.2, October, 1950, p.58. Ghausī was a pupil of Shaikh Wajh ud-dīn Alvi and a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus. Akbar was Muhammad and Ghaus's murīd. He died in 1563 A.D. See for details K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., pp.66-67.

Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Chunār, practising the most severe austerities and subsisting on the leaves of trees.<sup>1</sup> He was a prolific writer and wrote books such as Jawāhir-i-Khamsa, Kalīd-i-Makhzan, Kunz ut-Tauhīd, and Bahr ul-Hīyāt.<sup>2</sup> In the last book he discussed the influence of Hindu ideas on Muslim mysticism. It was indeed a precursor to Majma'ul-Bahrain of Dārā Shikoh.<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Ghaus had numerous Khalīfas, among whom Shaikh Wajh ud-dīn Alari Gujarātī, a distinguished scholar of his age, further enhanced the prestige of the silsila.

This silsila was never organised on a popular basis. It appealed to scholars and wealthy people, but failed to attract adherents from among the common people. The inherent weakness in its organisation and structure was mainly due to the philosophy of this silsila and the character of its Mashāikh. Its followers believed in pantheism as the only valid religious doctrine, and the spiritual system was based on that fundamental concept.

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1. Badā'ūnī, Vol.III, pp.4-5.

2. K.A. Nizāmī, op.cit., p.54.

3. Badā'ūnī, Vol.II, p.62.

Great emphasis was laid upon the interiorization of religious rites - something that the common man failed to understand. Apart from that, Shattārīs fixed their gaze on palaces and mansions, neglecting the common man. As they were not interested in the problems of the poor, how could the latter be interested in them?

As this silsila identified itself very closely with the State and its ruler, its prestige waxed and waned accordingly. Bābur and Humāyūn gave royal protection and prestige to Shattārī saints with which the prestige of the Order reached its apogee, but Akbar's nonchalant attitude decreased its prestige. When a decade later the Naqishbandiya silsila arose, the Shattārī silsila paled into utter insignificance.

### Section IX.

#### The Mahdavi Movement of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūri.

All believers in revealed scriptures - Jews, Christians and Muslims - hold the belief in an expected deliverer, i.e. a Mahdī, who will restore and reform all things. This expectation finds support in the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> So from time to time, in the history of Islam, restless and ambitious spirits have set up claims to be Mahdī, and have won support from some credulous and spiritually starved people. Muhammad ul-Hanīfa, a son of Hazrat 'Alī, was the first person in this respect to be given the title of Mahdī by the adventurer, Mukhtār.<sup>2</sup> After that there appeared several Mahdis at various times in the ninth century of Hijra. These men who put forward their claims were the product of political or social upheaval. The first person to make this claim in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was Rukn of Delhi during the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islām, Vol.III, pp.111-15. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, pp. 336-40. D.S. Margoliouth, On Mahdis and Mahdisism, p.1.

2. Ibid, pp.2-4.

3. Futhhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī, p.8.

With the advent of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, a new chapter opened in the history of the Mahdavi idea. Most of the earlier Mahdīs had been associated with political ambitions. Sayyid Muhammad's objectives were different. He aimed at the restoration of the purity of Islām.

He was born on Monday, the 14th Jamādī I, 847/1443, during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī.<sup>1</sup> This was the time when Jaunpūr was passing through its golden period of intellectual attainments and material prosperity. Sayyid Muhammad's mother's name was Bībī Akha Malik and his father's name Sayyid 'Abdullah, popularly known as Sayyid Khān.<sup>2</sup> Later on their names were changed to Sayyid 'Abdullah and Bībī Āmina by his followers who also claimed that miraculous incidents had accompanied his birth, reminiscent of those connected with the birth of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>3</sup> His father was a pious man and was the disciple of Hazrat Dāniyāl Khizrī. Both his sons, Sayyid Ahmad and

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1. S.A.A. Rizvi, M.I.Q., No.I, Vol.I, p.10.

2. Ibid, Tazkirah, pp.197-98. The author of Khazinat ul-asfiya incorrectly mentions his father's name Yūsuf.  
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3. The author of Tazkirah calls him Sayyid Budha Uwesī.

3. Tazkirah, pp. 197-98.



Sayyid Muhammad, were students of Shāikh Dāniyāl Khizrī.<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Muhammad was very intelligent and had a prodigious memory. At twelve he had already committed the holy Qurān to memory. His teacher honoured him with the title of Asad ul-'ulāmā, i.e. the Lion of the Learned.<sup>2</sup> Then at a very young age he started lecturing, which won the admiration of his teacher and others. It was an extraordinary thing to find a young student's cell thronged with pupils amongst whom one was a royal personage, viz. Husain Sharqī.<sup>3</sup> At a very young age he started practising mysticism and led a very pious life, and made many followers. Later on he engrossed himself completely in prayers and mystic practices and was often found in an ecstatic condition. At the age of forty he took with him his wife, and his son, Sayyid Mahmūd, the newly converted Muslim sister of Dalīp Rāī,<sup>4</sup> Mīān Dilāwar,

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1. Tazkirah, pp.197-98.

2. Tazkirah, p.198. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

3. Tazkirah, p.198. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58. The author of Tazkirah, p.198 - mentions that once he accompanied Sultan Husain Sharqī on a campaign against Dalīp Rāī of Gor; he led the army of fifteen hundred warriors and personally attacked and killed Dalīp Rāī. Also see, Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

4. Tazkirah, p.199.

~~Shaikh~~ Bhika and some other companions, and left Jaunpūr to preach in other parts of the country.<sup>1</sup> During the journey he claimed to have received divine messages to the effect that he would be a Mahdī. Passing through Chandarī, he reached Māndū, where he met Sultān Ghiyās ud-din.<sup>2</sup> The latter believed in his mission and presented him with many rich gifts such as beads of pearls and gold costing about one crore, but Sayyid Muhammad distributed them among the needy.<sup>3</sup> Many people here became his followers among whom one was a noble, Allahdād, a great scholar and poet and author of many books such as Diwāni-Mahmal, Risāla-ī-Bārī-i-Amānat, Risāla-i-Nabuwwat ī-Mahdvīyat, Marsiyaī-Shaikh Jaunpūrī and Diwān-ī-Mehrī.<sup>4</sup> Allahdād became a very important asset to this movement and also afterwards became sixth Khalīfa of the Mahdī.<sup>5</sup> Then Sayyid Muhammad reached Champanīr and encamped in

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<sup>1</sup> Tazkirah, p.199.  
<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Tazkirah, p.199.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

<sup>4</sup> Tazkirah, p.199. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

a mosque outside the city.<sup>1</sup> His learning and piety won him many followers. Among them were Sultān Mahmūd Beghara, his sister and Miān Nizām.<sup>2</sup> Here his eldest wife, Bībī Alahdīnī, expired and was buried in the fort.<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī now toured Barhānpūr, Daulatābād and Ahmadnagar.<sup>4</sup> Next he went to Bidar where the ruler was Malik Burīd.<sup>5</sup> Here many scholars and people acclaimed him as a perfect saint, and people such as Shaikh Maman, Mulla Zīā, and Qāzī 'Alā ud-dīn accepted discipleship from him.<sup>6</sup> When he left this place he had about three hundred followers.<sup>7</sup> Then he went to Gulberga to pay a visit to the holy shrine of Hazrat Gesū Darāz Bandā Nawāz.<sup>8</sup> Now he left India on a pilgrimage and reached

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1. Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.58.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. At this place Ahmad Nizām ul-Mulk gave him a very good reception.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Tazkirah, p.199.

8. Ibid.

Makka in 901/1495.<sup>1</sup> Here one day he proclaimed himself Mahdī before a large gathering where Qāzī 'Alā ud-dīn and Mīān Nizām became his witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

From Makka he returned to Ahamalābād in Gujarāt and encamped in the Majid Tāj Khān Sālār.<sup>3</sup> Here his preaching attracted many more followers, and nobles such as Malik Gohar, and Malik Burhān ud-dīn also entered his discipleship.<sup>4</sup> One day in the above-mentioned mosque in 903/1497, he claimed, for the second time, to be the promised Mahdī.<sup>5</sup> Many 'Ulāmā questioned his claim, but, in spite of their efforts, they failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the masses for him.<sup>6</sup> Sayyid Muhammad even claimed one day that "I can show the Lord of the world with the eyes of the flesh". This further alarmed the 'Ulāmā who sought the help of Sultān Mahmūd Beghara and unanimously signed a fatwā for his execution. But among those who

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1. Tazkirah, p. 200.

2. Ibid, p. 200.

3. Ibid, p. 200.

4. Ibid, p. 200.

5. Ibid, p. 200.

6. Mirāt u-Sikandari, p. 137.

sided with him was Maulānā Tāj.<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Muhammad considered it wise to leave Ahmadābād and retired to Naher Wālā/Patan in Gujarāt.<sup>2</sup> Here he encamped on the bank of Hauz i-Khān Sarwar and at the age of fifty-six in 905/1509 again reiterated his claim of being the promised Mahdī.<sup>3</sup> Many more people joined him here, among them Mīān Khwand Mīr and his family.<sup>4</sup> He now wrote to contemporary monarchs of his mission and challenged all those who did not believe in his message.<sup>5</sup> Ordered by the authorities to leave the place, he proceeded to the village of Barhlī, about four miles from Patan, where he again affirmed his claim to be Mahdī.<sup>6</sup> Thus neither exile nor the arguments of the 'Ulāmā could make him give up his claim. The 'Ulāmā again demanded his banishment from the country. Sultān Mahmūd agreed and ordered Sayyid

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1. Zafar ul-Wālih, p.34. The author of Khazīnat ul-asfiyā, like Abu'l Fazl is of opinion that he made this claim just in madness.
  2. Zafar ul-Wālih, p.34. Tazkirah, p.200.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Ibid.

Muhammad to leave the country.<sup>1</sup> He was now the head of more than eight-hundred followers and journeyed from place to place. Passing through the Jalor Nafor, Jaisalmir, Thatla and Baluchistān he reached Qandhār and from there went to Farah where he died on the nineteenth of Ziqa'dah 910/1504, at the age of sixty-three.<sup>2</sup> During these nine years of travel he succeeded in convincing Sultān Mahmūd Beghara of Gujarāt,<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Nizām Shāh Bahri of Ahmad Nagar, Zubdat ul-Mulk of Jalor, Shāh Beg Argum of Qandhār, Mirzā Zunnun of Farah and a host of nobles and some of the 'ulāmā of the validity of his claim.<sup>4</sup>

He achieved his success owing to his sincerity and purity of character and the extent of his learning. His contemporaries considered him to be a man of great devotion and selflessness. He exercised a chastening

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1. Tazkirah, p.200.

2. Tazkirah, pp.200-1. He expired after nine month's stay at Farah. But Tajalli-i-Nūr, Vol.I, p.60 mentions that he was assassinated at Farha.

3. Mirāt-i-Sikandri, p.137. Zafar ul-Wālih, p.36.

4. Tazkirah, pp.199-201.

and purifying influence upon his followers. Unlike previous claimants to Mahdīhood, Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpūrī's mission was essentially spiritual and religious. Even orthodox Mullās could not question his piety and learning.<sup>1</sup> He attracted all kinds of people. Even thieves and brigands would leave their profession to join him, dedicating their lives to God. He taught his contemporaries humanity for the sake of humanity. It was actually his honesty, integrity and selflessness which appealed to his audience and won their loyalty. He brightened the souls of his audience with the illuminating radiance of moral fervour.

#### His Mission:-

Sayyid Muḥammad had proclaimed himself to be a Mahdi after a prolonged practice of twenty years. To him, God, His Prophet and the Qurān were the only guides, and Islām revealed in the holy Book was the only religion to be followed. He claimed that whatever he said was in accord with the word of God and was uttered in conformity with His commandments. He tried to harmonise and reconcile the various Muslim sects, which he taught had sprung

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1. Tajallī-ī-Nūr, Vol.I, p.59.

up as a consequence of allegorical and metaphysical interpretations of the teachings of the Prophet. He was always opposed to following these teachings blindly and in the same way did not like people to follow his teaching blindly, unless and until he had satisfied himself.<sup>1</sup>

He generally preferred to live in some remote corner of the city, preferably in a mosque. Such places were called his Dā'ira. There Sayyid Muhammad and his followers used to live according to the strict law of the Shari'a. Foremost among their religious practices was Zikr. This made the 'ulama fear that the Mahdavis might move away from the orthodox path. But Sayyid Muhammad made it, i.e. Zikr, obligatory and was of the opinion that everything which was harmful to its practice was unlawful, be it the quest of knowledge or the earning of livelihood or eating or sleeping.<sup>2</sup>

Hijrat, i.e. migration, was another important duty which he enjoined. He and his followers did not

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1. S.A.A. Rizvi, M.I.Q., Vol.I, No.I, July, 1950, p.13.

2. Ibid, p.14.



stay in one place, and he used to say that the place where the preaching and practice of the tenets could be performed should be abandoned. He and his followers divided then the ordinance of the Qurān into two groups. In the first group he included those commandments, associated with the Sharī'a, which had been explained perfectly by the holy Prophet. In the second group he included those commandments which he said would be propagated by the last of the Walīs i.e. himself, and in this connection he professed the following eight tenets.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Tark-i-Dunya:- Renunciation of the world.
- (2) Subhat-i-Sadīqīn:- Company of the truthful.
- (3) Uzlat az-Khalq:- Seclusion from mankind.
- (4) Tawakkul:- Resignation to the Divine will.
- (5) Talab-i-Dīdār ī-Hagq:- Quest of the vision of God.
- (6) Ushr:- Distribution of one tenth of their income.
- (7) Zikr-ī-Kasīr:- Constant Zikr.
- (8) Hijrat:- Migration.<sup>2</sup>

The Mahdavis were never interested in politics

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1. S.A.A. Bizvī, M.I.Q., op.cit., p.14.

2. Ibid, pp.14-15.

or any other worldly pomp and show. Though their master claimed to be the highest personage in the spiritual hierarchy, he nevertheless always considered himself a humble servant of God and the Prophet. The Mahdvīs believed that their livelihood was from God and that one should honestly work for it. They never depended on gifts, and whatever they procured by joint effort, they distributed equally among all the members of Dā'īra. But besides legal alms and Zakāt the Mahdvīs had to contribute one tenth of their income to the funds of Dā'īra. Members of Dā'īra were strictly forbidden to marry the daughters of the new followers unless their sincerity had been tested for one year. The older members were permitted to marry.<sup>1</sup>

Dā'īras:- After Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī's death his son and successor, Sayyid Mahmūd, found it necessary to expand the Dā'īra. Thus afterwards several Dā'īras sprang up which disseminated the Mahdvī teaching throughout India, as well as beyond its frontiers. In India they focussed their efforts on Gujarāt, Khandesh and Ahmad Nagar, where they formed separate Dā'īras. So far as the north was concerned Dā'īras of this kind were established at Agrā,

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1. S.A.A. Rizvī, op.cit. p.16.

Dehli and Nagor. The following were its twelve chief Khalīfas: Sayyid Mahmūd, Sayyid Akhwand Mīr, Shāh Ni'mat, Shāh Nizām, Shāh Dilāwar, Malik Burhān ud-dīn, Malik Gauhar, Malikjī, Malik Kafūr his brother, Malik Burhān and Shāh Amīn Ahmad.<sup>1</sup> These Dā'īras were further multiplied owing to the banishment of Madvīs from place to place and thus a network of their activities were established throughout India. These Dā'īras were thronged with people who with great zeal and enthusiasm responded to Sayyid Muhammad's mission.

Most of the later leaders were not men of learning, so they used local dialects for the propagation of this movement. Even the aphorisms of Sayyid Muhammad and of the pioneers of Dā'īras were full of Hindī words and phrases, and men such as Shaikh Burhān and Mīān Mustfā Gujarātī wrote Hindī poems as well in this respect. Thus the Mahdviya preachings and writings also enlivened and enriched local vernaculars. Its followers believed in the equitable distribution of wealth. This aroused amongst the people a passion for unity and brotherhood, and also proved the moving spirit behind the abolition of poverty and vice.

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1. S.A. Rizvi, M.I.Q., op.cit., p.17.

APPENDIX (A).

THE COINAGE OF THE SHARQĪ SULTĀNS.

We have not met with the coins of the two early rulers, Sultān ush-Sharq Malik Sarwar and Sultān Mubārak. But it is possible that both issued coins, as some of the hoards kept in the Museums of Patna and elsewhere have not yet been deciphered.<sup>1</sup> The other four rulers issued a variety of coins which are to be found in the British Museum as well as in the museums of India and Pakistān.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm ruled from 803-844/1401-1440, Mahmūd 844-862/1440-1457, Muhammad 862-863/1457-1458, and Husain 863-888/1458-1483 as Sultān of Jaunpūr and 888-901/1483-1495 as Sultān of Bihār, Husain died in 911/1505. These facts have been proved in the previous chapters.

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1. S. Hasan Askari, Indian History Congress Proceedings of the twenty-third session, Aligarh, 1960, Part I, pp.154-62, mentions that apart from Patna Museum there are in Bihār in private collections many copper coins of the Sharqīs which have yet to be deciphered.
  2. Vide, Catalogues of Coins of Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore and British Museums.

Nevertheless we have met with the coins of Ibrāhim, dated 845, 846 and 847 AH, whereas the coins of his successor, Mahmūd, are also in existence dated in sequence from the year 844 AH.<sup>1</sup> There are also billon coins of Mahmūd dated very clearly as 836 and 837 AH.<sup>2</sup> The double issue of both during these years is unaccounted for in historical records. It shows that Ibrāhim must have been of considerable age at the time of his death, and it is possible that his eldest son, Mahmūd, declared his independence before his demise.

Mahmūd died in 862 AH and the coins of both his successors, Muhammad and Husain, exist dated 861, 862 and 863 AH.<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that both brothers assumed power during the lifetime of their father (Mahmūd), and undoubtedly both issued the coins in the same three years. Muhammad was killed in a dispute with Husain, and the

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1. Vide Coins No. 53 and 62 of <sup>the</sup> Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Coins No. 265, 266, 275, 276 and 277 of <sup>the</sup> British Museum Collection.
  2. Vide Coin No. 285 of <sup>the</sup> British Museum Collection.
  3. S.L. Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammad States), pp. 102-3, and vide British Museum Collection Coin No. 296, 297 and 301. Also see plates No. XIX of The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns, Muhammad's Coin No. 182, dated 862 AH. p 551

latter assumed the royal insignia in 863 AH.<sup>1</sup>

Husain was dethroned from Jaunpūr in 888/1483. From the latter place coins were issued first by Bahlūl in 888 to 893 AH and then by Bārbak Shāh in 892 to 895 AH.<sup>2</sup> Husain remained ruler of Bihār until 901/1495 and died at Colgong in 911/1505.<sup>3</sup> But his coins run irregularly up to 919/1513, which seems to be posthumous, and might have been issued by his successor (Sultān) Jalāl ud-dīn Sharqī.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Firishta, Vol.II, p.601.

2. Vide Indian Museum Calcutta Coin No.579-80 and 81, and E. Thomas' collection coin No.322. For details see S.L. Poole, Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum (Vol. II, The Muhammadan States), as well as "The Coins of Sultans of Dehli in the British Museum," edited by R.S. Poole. Also E. Thomas, The Chroniclers of the Pathan Kings of Dehli.

3. His coins run continuously up to 911/1505. Vide Coin No. 140, 154 and 155 of Indian Museum Calcutta, Coin No.321, 322, 323 and 324, British Museum Collection, as well as C.J. Rodgers, Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore, p.105. For further details also see H.M. Whittell Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol VII. Husain's one coin No.I dated 909 AH/1505.<sup>755</sup> See Husain's coin in British Museum No.325. Also see Plate XIX 'The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns, Husain's Coin No.I dated 909AH/1503 A.D. 1551

4. H.M. Whittell, op.cit.

All four coined in billon and copper. Ibrāhim and Mahmūd also coined in silver. Except Muhammad, all the rest coined in gold.

### Gold.

Ibrāhim issued two types of coins in this metal, and Mahmūd and Husain apparently minted only the second type of their predecessor.<sup>1</sup>

Type I complies with the normal weight of 148 to 175.4 gm.<sup>2</sup> It bears a close resemblance to the gold issue of Fath Khān Tughluq.<sup>3</sup> The legend on the obverse of this type consists of a central inscription enclosed in a circle with a marginal legend giving the date in Arabic words forming the formula "minted as a dinār in the year!"- The central inscription reads:-

"In the time of Imām, Commander of the Faithful, Father of victory, may his Khilafat be perpetuated."

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1. I.S.L. Pooled, op.cit, p.95, B.M.C. No.263, and 576-77. Also see plate XVIII "The Gold Coinage of the Sharqī Sultans", p.547 Ibrāhim's coin No.1,2, and 3, Mahmūd's coin No.1, and Husain's coin No.1,2, and 3.

2. H.M. Whittell, Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S. B, 1922, p.18N.

3. Ibid.

OBVERSE.



830  
A.H.



831  
A.H.



842  
A.H.



846  
A.H.



870  
A.H.



Ibrāhīm  
Sharqī

Mahmūd  
Sharqī

Husain  
Sharqī



Ibrāhīm  
Sharqī



Mahmūd  
Sharqī



Husain  
Sharqī

REVERSE



The reverse legend which occupies the full face of the coin reads:- السلطان اعظم الدنيا شمس الدين ابو المنظر ابراهيم شاه السلطانى خلدت  
ملته

"The supreme sovereign, the sun of the world and religion, Abū'l-Mazaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingdom be perpetuated." <sup>1</sup>

Type II (Tughra type). It is copied from the issue of Jalāl ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh of Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The obverse legend follows that of type I, except that the title "Commander of the Faithful" is altered to نائب امير المؤمنين "Deputy-Commander of the Faithful". Its marginal inscription, however, remains the same. On the reverse Ibrāhīm expresses his religious belief by prefixing to his title the legend:-

"The One who trusts in the support of the Merciful." الراجى بتأييد الرحمن

Abū'l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān.<sup>3</sup>

ابو المنظر ابراهيم شاه السلطان

1. B.M.C. No. 223. Also see plate XVIII "The Gold Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns", p. 547 Ibrāhīm Coin No. 2, pp. and B.M.C. No. 223.

2. H.M. Whittel, Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B. 1922, p. 19N.

3. See Plate XVIII, op.cit. Ibrāhīm's Coin No. 3.

This type of Ibrāhīm's coins weighs from 172 to 178.5 gm.<sup>1</sup>

The coins of Mahmūd and Husain in this type bear the same obverse legend as those of Ibrāhīm, but the reverse legend in the case of the issue of Mahmūd reads:-

سيف الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه ابراهيم شاه اللان

"Minted by the Sultān Saif ud-duniyā wa-d-dīn Abū'l-Majāhid Mahmūd son of Ibrāhīm."<sup>2</sup>

Mahmūd's coins weigh 175 to 185.2 gm.<sup>3</sup>

The legend on the reverse of the coin of Husain reads:-

المريد بتأييد الرحمن شاه محمود شاه ابراهيم شاه اللان  
قله الله تملكه

"Strengthened in the support of God, Husain Shāh, (son of) Mahmūd Shāh (son of) Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingdom be perpetuated."<sup>4</sup>

1. H.M. Whittel, op.cit.

2. B.M.C. No.263. Also see plate XVIII "The Gold Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns", p.547 Mahmūd's Coin No.I.

3. H.M. Whittel, Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1922, p.191

4. B.M.C. No.576-577. Also see plate XVIII, op.cit.

Husain's coins of this type weigh 180 to 184 grs.<sup>1</sup>

### Silver.

One square silver coin of Ibrāhīm has come to light, exactly similar to those of type II, in gold of the same ruler, except that the legend on the obverse is arranged in a square instead of in a circle.<sup>2</sup>

One coin of Mahmūd which weighs 176 grs has also been found which is exactly similar to type II of his (Mahmūd's) gold issue. It seems that it was struck from a gold die of type II.<sup>3</sup>

### Billon.

Ibrāhīm coined two types in this metal.

Type I. The obverse reads:- *الحليفة المرسية ابراهيم*  
(date)

"The Khalif, Commander of the Faithful,  
may his khilafat be perpetuated"

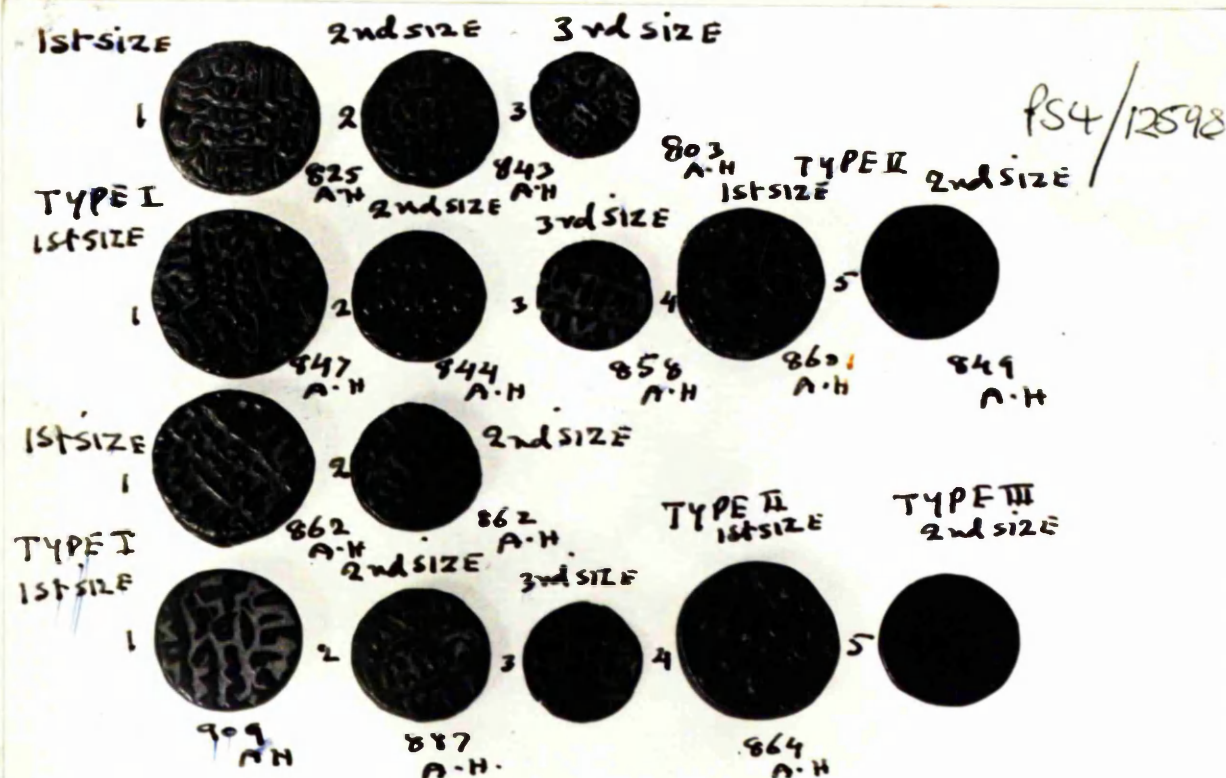
1. H.M. Whittel, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

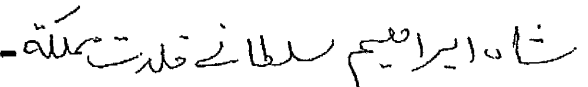
3. Ibid., p.20N.

# Plate XIX

OBVERSE.



followed by the date in figures.

The reverse reads:- 

"Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingdom  
be perpetuated." <sup>1</sup>

The average weight of his coins of this type is 140.1 grs.

Type II. It bears the legends already described under type I. There is, however, no date on the coin, and the obverse legend is somewhat differently arranged. <sup>2</sup> The average weight in this type is 55.45 grs.

Mahmūd, Muhammad and Husain coined in this metal, continuing Ibrahim's traditions in these two types, the only difference being the prefixing of the words:-

"Mahmūd Shāh, son of "

"Muhammad Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, son of"

"Husain Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, son of" <sup>4</sup>

- 
1. B.M.C. No.226, Also see plate XIX, The Billon and Copper Coinage of Sharqi Sultāns, p.551 Ibrahim's Coin No.1.
  2. B.M.C. No.261. Also see plate XIXI, op.cit., Ibrahim's Coin No.2.
  3. H.M. Whittel, op.cit., pp.21N-22N.
  4. B.M.C.No.294,296,336, also see plate XIX 'The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultāns, p.551 Mahmūd's coin No.4. Muhammad's coin No.2 and Husain's coin No.4.

The average weight of their coins is as follows:-

Mahmūd Shāh	145.3 grs
Muhammad Shāh	150 grs
Husain Shāh	150.7 grs <sup>1</sup>

Mahmūd introduced a third type and Husain a fourth. The third type of Mahmūd is confined to a single issue, as all the known copies bear only one date (AH 849) its issue may have been limited to one year.<sup>2</sup>

The obverse legend of his name in this type is in a double circle with a marginal legend.

"Saif ud-duniyā wa-d-dīn Abū'l-Muzaffar"

The reverse legend reads:-

"Son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān"

followed by the date in figures.<sup>3</sup> This coin weighs 66 grs.<sup>4</sup>

1. H.M. Whittel, op.cit., p.N21.

2. Vide Plate XIX, op.cit., Mahmūd's coin No.3.

3. Ibid.

4. H.M. Whittel, op.cit.

Copper.

There are three types of coin of all four rulers in this metal.

Type I. In this type Ibrāhīm's traditions were continued by his successors.

The obverse bears the inscription:-

خليفة الالف

"The Khalīf, Father of victory"

followed by the date in figures; the reverse reading is:

"Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Sultān",

شاه ابراهيم سلطان

1

The succeeding kings retained the same obverse as well as reverse, of course with the exception of their names.<sup>2</sup>

All four kings issued this type of coinage in two sizes. The larger size of their coins is commonly met with, whereas the smaller one is scarce. The average

1. B.M.C. No.226,261 and 262. Also see plate XIX, p.551  
"The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Sharqī Sultāns",  
Ibrāhīm's Coin No.1, 2, and 3.

2. See Mahmūd & Husain's coins on plate XIX, op.cit.

weight of the first size of Ibrāhīm is 67.5 grs. Mahmūd 70 grs, Muhammad, 69 grs and Husain 67.2 grs. The average weight in the second size of Ibrāhīm is 31.7 grs, Mahmūd 33.7 grs,<sup>1</sup> but the weight of the coins of this type issued by Muhammad and Husain has not been estimated in this respect.

Type II was only issued by Mahmūd.

Both faces of this type have legends similar to those of type I, except that there is no date on the reverse, the figures being replaced by the words, "May his Khilāfat be perpetuated."<sup>2</sup> The average weight of this type is 56.8 grs.<sup>3</sup>

Type III was originally introduced by Mahmūd and was continued by his two successors.

The obverse legend consists of the name of the king in a circle with a marginal legend, in the case of Mahmūd:-

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1. H.M. Whittel, op.cit., p.N.23.

2. B.M.C. No.294. Also see plate XIX, The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Sharqi Sultāns, Mahmūd's Coin No.4. P.551

3. H.M. Whittel, op.cit., p.24N. Also see plate XIXI, op.cit Husain's Coin No.5.



"Son of Ibrāhīm Shāh the Sultān"

The reverse reads:-

"Deputy-Commander of the Faithful"

with the date in figures below.

Muhammad and Husain exactly copied the type of their father, except that the two brothers prefixed the names of their father to the genealogical marginal legend.<sup>1</sup>

The average weight of coins of Mahmūd in this type is 145 grs and of Husain 145.12 grs.<sup>2</sup> But Muhammad's coins have not yet been weighed.

The following table is perhaps the best means of showing the sequence of types in the issues of coinage of Ibrāhīm, Mahmūd, Muhammad and Husain.

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1. B.M.C. No.340.

2. H.M. Whittel, op.cit., p.24N.

Gold		Silver	Billon				Copper			
Type I	Type II		Type I		Type II	Type III	Type I		Type II	Type III
			1st size	2nd size			1st size	2nd size		
Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	x	x	Ibrāhīm	Ibrāhīm	x	x
x	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	x	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd	Mahmūd
x	x	x	Muha- mmad	x	x	x	Muha- mmad	Muha- mmad	x	Muha- mmad
x	Husain	x	Husain	x	x	x	Husain	Husain	x	Husain

APPENDIX (B).

THE LATER SHARQĪS.

Sultān Husain's son, Jalāl ud-dīn, i.e. Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn Sharqī, was married to the daughter of Nasīb Shāh (1493-1518) of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn, like his father, passed his days in the faint hope of getting back his paternal throne of Jaunpūr. In spite of the fact that the Lodī Amīrs had established their power in Jaunpūr and Bihār during the previous years, Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn never lost hope of re-conquering Jaunpūr. A new opportunity arose for him when Sultān Muhammad Lohānī of Bihār died (1528 A.D.) and dissensions broke out among the rival chiefs - Baban Shāhukhel, son of Mīān 'Atā Shāhukhel, Bāyazīd and Sher Khān Sūr - for the throne of Bihār.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Badā'ūnī, Vol.I, pp.311-12. 'Abdullah, p.53. Jaunpūr Nām p.20. The latter is mistaken in writing that Nasīb Shāh had no male issue so that when he died he was succeeded by Jalāl Khān who entitled himself Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn. In fact, Nasīb Shāh had eighteen sons of whom the eldest Nasī Khān succeeded him under the title of Nasīr ud-dīn Nusrat Shāh (1518-33).
  2. Elliot, Vol.IV, p.347. A. Halim, History of the Lodī Sultans of Dehli and Agra, p.206.

Jalāl ud-dīn, perhaps with the hope of recovering Jaunpūr, joined Bābur / the formidable enemy of the Lodīs. Bābur appointed him governor of Benāras as well as commander of one of the divisions of his army.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Afghāns to prevent disaster invited Mahmūd Lodī, son of Sikandar Lodī, and the latter ousting Jalāl Khān, son of Sultān Muhammad (Bahār Khān Lohānī) ascended the throne of Bihār (1528 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> This situation diverted Bābur's attention, who immediately sent an army under his son, Mirzā 'Askarī (7 Rabi' II, 935/19 December, 1528), and afterwards followed him via Chandwar, Raprī, Etāwah and Kara.<sup>3</sup> Jalāl ud-dīn Sharqī who had been ousted from Benāras by the Lodīs received Bābur at Kara, and gave him a sumptuous feast on the banks of the Ganges. (March, 1429 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> Later on

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1. W. Erskine, A History of India Under Bābur and Humāyūn, vol. p.499.
  2. A. Halim, op.cit., p.207. K. Qanungo, Sher Shāh, p.57. Vide H.N. Wright, The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehli, p.256, for the only coin of Sultān Muham ud-Lodī dated 935/1528. Mahmūd Lodī after the Rājput defeat at Kānwa by Bābur had fled to Chitor from where he had withdrawn to Baghel Khand (Rewa). He was at the latter place (Rewa) when he was invited to ascend the throne of Bihār.
  3. A. Halim, op.cit., pp.207-8.
  4. K. Qanungo, op.cit., pp.61-62. W. Erskine, op.cit., p.499. Mrs. Beveridge, Bābur Memoirs, p.651.

Bābur marched against the Lodī opposition, with the result that Sultān Mahmūd Lodī and his allies were defeated at Chaunsa and Baksar.<sup>1</sup> Mahmūd Lodī leaving some of his

elephants in the hands of his enemy fled to Bengal and sought asylum with Nusrat Shāh of Bengal (1518-32).<sup>2</sup>

With this final overthrow of the Afghāns, Bābur realised all his hopes, but Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn Sharqī did not succeed in his object. Soon afterwards he expired and was buried at Jaunpūr.<sup>3</sup>

Sultān Jalāl ud-dīn's son, Mahmūd Khān, was permitted by Bābur to entitle himself Sultān,<sup>4</sup> and was

1. Tabaqāt, Vol.III, p.271. A. Halim, op.cit., p.208.

2. Tabaqāt, op.cit. A. Halim, op.cit. L.F. Rushbrook-Williams, An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, pp. 168-69. Mahmūd Lodī was Sultān Nusrat Shāh's uncle-in-law, for he was married to the daughter of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī. Nusrat Shāh fixed a pension for Sultān Mahmūd Lodī. When Sher Shāh Sūrī conquered Bengal, Mahmūd Lodī died in exile in Orīssa in 949/1542. 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī and 'Abdullah (T.Dā'Udī) give his date of death as 947/1537, and Ni'mat Ullah, 1542 A.D. The latter seems to be right. With the fall of Mahmūd Lodī at the hands of Bābur, Lodī opposition came to an end.

3. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.21.

4. A. Halim, op.cit., p.208.

similarly honoured by Humāyūn. During his struggle against Sher Shāh (Humāyūn) wrote to Sultān Mahmūd that he would hand him over the province of Bihār and Jaunpūr, if he (Sultān Mahmūd) could help him to dispossess Sher Shāh Sūr.<sup>1</sup> At this Sultān Mahmūd (Sharqī) marched out with a large number of cavalry and met Humāyūn who received him with great honour.<sup>2</sup> Humāyūn then put a large number of his own cavalry under Sultān Mahmūd and posted him against Sher Shāh.<sup>3</sup> A battle took place at Chunār in which Mahmūd (Sharqī) being injured fell from his horse, with the result that Sher Shāh got the upper hand.<sup>4</sup> When the battle was over Sher Shāh rushed towards the dying Sultān Mahmūd and begged his forgiveness and also asked him for his last will.<sup>5</sup> Mahmūd expired and Sher Shāh sent his body with great honour to Jaunpūr, where he was buried.<sup>6</sup> Sher Shāh also handed over to Mahmūd's depend-

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.21.

2. Ibid. The number of cavalry mentioned by Khair ud-dīn, seems to be exaggerated.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Ghulam Hasan f.16b.

6. Ibid. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.21.

ants the royal residences of Jaunpūr, and entitled them to its revenue for their expenses.<sup>1</sup>

When Humāyūn returned from Persia and reconquered Dehli, he called Sultān Husain, son of Sultān Mahmūd (Sharqī) at Dehli, showed him paternal kindness and, bestowing upon him the title of 'Umar Khān along with the mansab of 7,000, also gave him the Jāgīr of Bihār.<sup>2</sup> Reaching Jaunpūr, Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān, restored the royal monuments of his ancestors and at the same time added there one Mohalla, one Sarāī and a bāzar in his own name.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān also administered his own Jāgīr.

During the reign of Akbar some of Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān's enemies report<sup>ed</sup> to Akbar that he (Husain) was looking forward to proclaiming his independence.<sup>4</sup> When this news reached Sultān Husain, he gave away all his wealth and belongings to the poor as a form of charity, came and settled at Jaunpūr, and took to a saintly life.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma p.21.

2. Ibid, p.22.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Though Akbar asked him to resume his Jāgīr, he retired in favour of his son, Qutb Khān.<sup>1</sup> Akbar honoured Qutb Khān with all the privileges of his father, i.e. Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān, had enjoyed.<sup>2</sup> Qutb Khān was succeeded by his son, Hasan Khān.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of 'Alamgir when Jāgīrs were confiscated, Muhammad Khān and Mahmūd Khān, sons of Hasan Khān, were compensated in cash.<sup>4</sup> After Bahādur Shāh's accession, a small Jāgīr around Jaunpūr was given to Murād Shāh and Muhammad Shāh, sons of Jalāl Khān Shāh bin Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān.<sup>5</sup> During the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-20) when Jāgīrs of pious men and of other Jāgīrdārs of Jaunpūr were confiscated only a few villages in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr were given to Husain Shāh and Hasan Shāh, sons of Muhammad Shāh (son of Jalāl Shāh bin Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān), for the expenses of a Msjid, a Khāniqāh and a madrasa.<sup>6</sup> Nawāb

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.22.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.23.



Safdar Jang afterwards restored the former Jāgīr to them including the income of Mohalla and Bāzār, once built by their great grandfather, i.e. Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān.<sup>1</sup> But the officers of Shujā'ud-daula, the Nawāb of Awadh, again confiscated a good part of their Jāgīr, and left them only two villages along with the income of a Mohalla and a bāzār, the one mentioned above.<sup>2</sup> Later on both villages were again confiscated and thus the income of the Mohalla and the Bāzār remained the only source of income of the descendants of Husain Shāh and Hasan Shāh, sons of Muhammad Shāh, grandson of Sultān Husain 'Umar Khān.<sup>3</sup> In due course of time the descendants of the Sharqīs such as Karam Shāh and Ghulām Husain leaving princehood preferred the lives of saints.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Jaunpūr Nāma, p.23.

2. Ibid, p.23.

3. Ibid, p.23.

4. Ibid, p.23.

## APPENDIX (C).

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SHAHJIS.

(1) Sultan ush-Sharg Malik Sayyar  
(1394-1399 A.D.)(2) Malik Garenfal)  
Sultan Kubarak Shah Shargi,  
adopted son. (1392-1401 A.D.)(3) (Ibrahim Shah)  
Sultan Ibrahim Shah Shargi (1401-1440 A.D.)  
brother of Sultan Kubarak.Ibrahim Khan, brother of Sultan  
Kubarak and Sultan Ibrahim.(4) Mahmud Khan). Sultan Mahmud  
Shah Shargi (1440-1457 A.D.)Unknown prince, a murrīd of  
Sadr Jahan Ajmal.Nasir Khan. His name is com-  
memorated by a fort of Nasir-  
abad which was founded by Sultan  
Ibrahim Shargi. This fort stands  
near Jā'is in the district of  
Raj Bareilly.Daughter, married to Seyyid  
Murtaza Shah S/O Sadr ud-din  
Chiragh-i-Hind of Zafarabad.(5) (Bhikan Khan) Sultan  
Mahmud Shah Shargi  
(1457-1458 A.D.)

Hasan Khan

(6) Husain Khan. Sultan Husain Shah  
Shargi, King of Jaunpur, 1458-  
1485 A.D. King of Bihar, 1483-  
1495 A.D. (died in 1505 A.D. at  
Colgong).

Jalal Khan.

Laili Begum. Her name is com-  
memorated by a palace, though  
now in ruins, founded by Malik  
Bibi Raji.

Empty title-holders =

Jalal Khan (Sultan Jalal ud-din Shargi, married to a daughter of Nasir  
Shah (1493-1518) of Bengal. He joined Babur's campaign (1529 A.D.)  
against the Lodis.

Sultan Mahmud, (died fighting against Sher Shah, on behalf of Humayun).

Sultan Husain Umar Khan - a jagirdar of Bihar during Humayun and Akbar's  
reign. He held the mansab of 7,000.

Jalal Shah

Qutb Khan - He held a jagir in Bihar during Akbar's  
reign. He also held the mansab of 7,000.Hasan Khan - He had the same position as that  
of his father.

Murtad Shah

(Both had small jagirs around Jaunpur. (Bahadur Shah's reign))

Muhammad Khan

Mahmud Khan - (Alauddin's reign)

Both were compensated in cash.

Husain Shah  
(Mahmud Shah's  
reign).

Hasan Shah

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# A MAP OF THE SULTANATE OF JAUNPUR AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER

(C 1400-83)

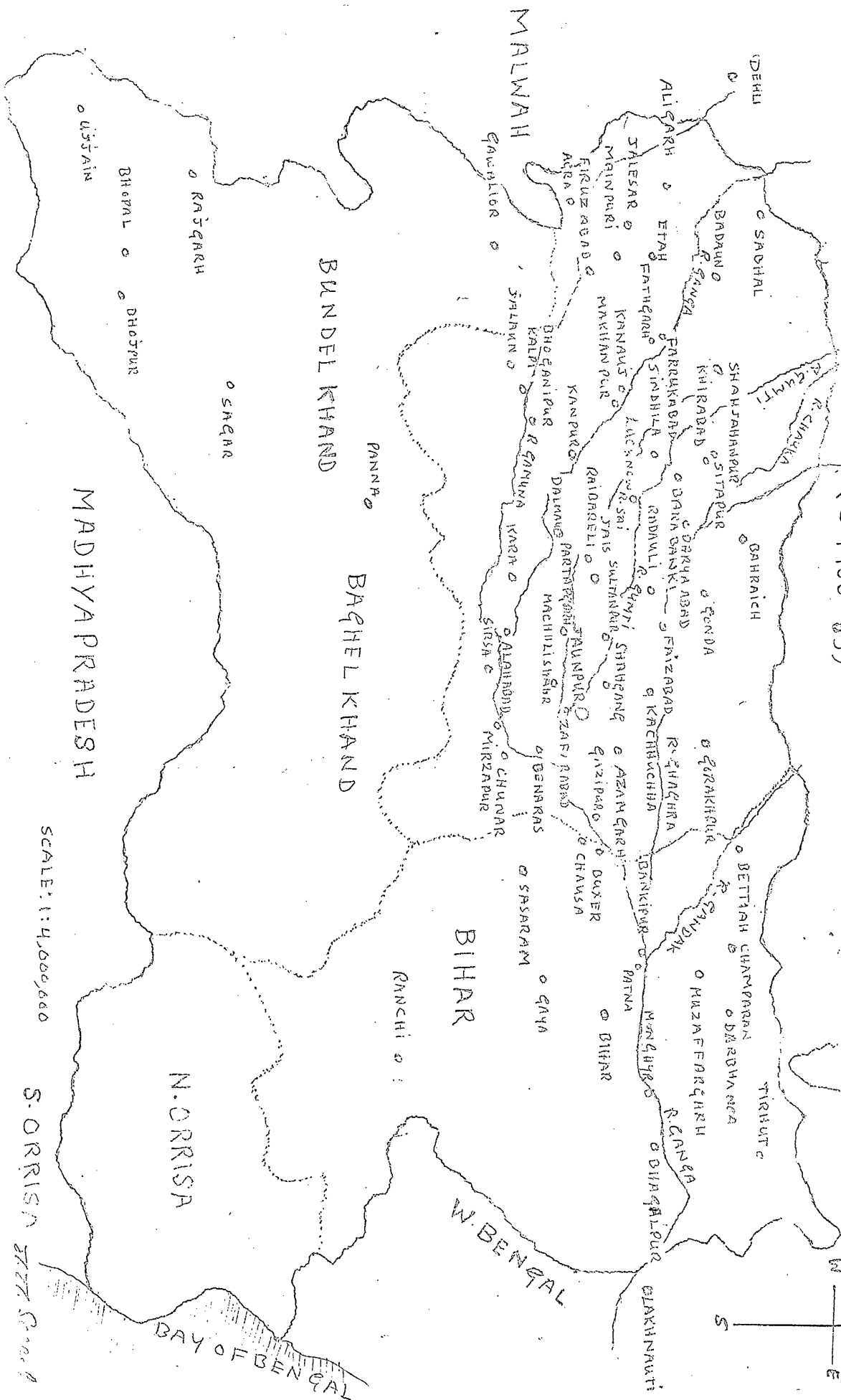


PLATE XX

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